STORY OF INDIA.

BY

ROPER LETHBRIDGE, M.A., C.I.E.,

LATE SCHOLAR OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD; MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, AND OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY; FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA; AND FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE.

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

THIS little book is virtually a Second Edition of one which I published last year, partly written by myself and partly abridged from Dr. Pope's admirable *Text Book of Indian History*. For the sake of uniformity of style, I have now re-written most of those portions of the history for which I was formerly indebted to Dr. Pope; and I have assumed the sole responsibility of the work, though I have still to acknowledge my deep obligation to that careful scholar for much valuable assistance throughout, and specially for the chapter on Mahratta History. For those students who wish to read the Modern History of India in greater detail than in the present volume, without the labour of wading through the bulky works of such writers as Grant Duff, I know of no book so reliable and so clear in arrangement as Dr. Pope's *Text Book*.

I have endeavoured to embody briefly, and in the simplest possible language, the most striking results of modern research in the interesting field of Indian History. The geographical and statistical information contained in the Introduction has been compiled from the most recent Administration Reports of the various Indian Governments. For the Ancient History I am largely indebted to many articles published at various times in the *Calcutta Review*; based for the most part on the works of such well-known orientalists as

Wilson, Colebrooke, Muir, Lassen, Weber, Gorresio, Burnouf and Max Müller. For a list of the other authorities consulted by me, I would refer the reader to my former Preface.

I have been particularly careful to avoid any expressions or allusions which might be beyond the comprehension or the experience of young Indian students. The Introductory chapters, and those on the Hindú philosophy and the Sanskrit and Muhammadan literatures, as being necessarily of a somewhat more difficult nature than the rest, may be omitted by the learner in his first reading; but I venture to hope that the other chapters will be easily understood by Indian School-boys at a comparatively early stage of their English studies—and may even be found useful as reading-lessons in classes junior to those in which the book is used as a Manual of History.

In the spelling of Indian names, I have conformed to the most recent orders of the Government of India. I have followed the method now well-known as the "Transliteration System" of Sir William Jones and Professor Wilson—except in the case of such words as Cawnpore, Coorg, &c., (of which a brief list has been published by the Government of India), the English spelling of which has acquired a certain amount of historic fixity. A fair approximation to the correct pronunciation of words translitered on this system may be attained by attention to the following rules given by Dr. Hunter in his note on the subject:—

Long *á* (as in *bhát*, rice,) corresponds to the first *a* in *tartan*, *almond*, &c.

Short *a* (as in *man*, mind,) has a varying degree of broad-

ble in woman,

and *bij*, seed,)

guished unless

the sharp *i* in

dúr, distance,)

nguished. It

in *bull*, *put*,

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E. L.

INTRODUCTION.

PART I.—THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA.

§ 1. Extent. § 2. Two Great Divisions. § 3. Boundaries of Hindústán. § 4. Five Natural Divisions of Hindústán. § 5. The Deccan. § 6. Four Natural Divisions of the Deccan. § 7. General Remarks on the Geography. § 8. The Gate of India. § 9. History of India affected by its Geography.

§ 1. India may be described roughly as the country which lies north and south between the Himálaya mountains and the Great Indian Ocean. From the port of Karáchi in the extreme west, to the eastern borders of Assám, is a distance of about 1,800 miles; a like distance separates Cape Comorin in the south from the northern extremity of the Panjáb; and the area included between these limits has been estimated at about 1,500,000 square miles. India thus extends from the 8th degree of north latitude to the 37th; and from the longitude of 66° 44′ to that of 99° 30′ east of Greenwich.

§ 2. The first and simplest division of India is into North and South—called respectively Hindústán and the Deccan; both have strongly marked natural boundaries, and the latter forms what is called the Indian Peninsula.

§ 3. Hindústán is bounded on the *north* by the loftiest mountains in the world, the Himálayas, which separate it from Thibet and the high land of Central Asia. On the *west* its boundaries are the Indus and the mountains which rise from its western bank; these elevations are called the Sulaimán range where they separate the Panjáb from Afghánistán; and have various local names, the Hálá mountains and others, further to the south, where they divide Sind from Balochistán. The *southern* frontier rests with its western extremity on the Arabian Sea (including the Gulfs of Cutch and Cambáy), and its eastern on

the Bay of Bengal: in the intervening space, where it abuts on the Deccan, it is formed by the Vindhya Hills with their continuations in Chuttía Nágpur (or Chota Nágpur) and Katak (or Cuttack). The *eastern* boundary of Hindústán is not so clearly defined as the others; it is formed by ranges of hills in East Assám and Manipur, running southward from the esstern extremity of the Himálaya range and forming the watershed between the basins of the Bráhmaputra and the Iráwadi.

§ 4. Hindústán, by its physical characteristics, is divided into five portions of unequal size and importance:

(1). The whole of the west is occupied by the basin of the Indus, which enters the country at its north-west corner, and flows almost directly south. The lower portion of this basin is generally arid and barren, except in the immediate vicinity of the river or in those tracts where artificial moisture can be applied by irrigation; and on its eastern side it merges in the sandy wastes which will form our fourth division. The basin of the upper Indus, well watered by its five tributaries (from which the Panjáb, the Five Waters, takes its name—the Satlej, the Biás, the Rávi, the Chenáb, and the Jhelam), possesses a most fertile soil.

(2). The great valley of the Ganges, which, rising in the Himálayas not far from some of the upper waters of the Indus, flows across the country in a direction generally south-east or east, and drains the whole of the southern slope of those mountains, and the northern slope of the Vindhyas and their continuations. The rich alluvial soil, and the comparatively damp climate of the lower basin, make the province of Bengal (including the immense delta of the river) one of the most productive countries in the world; whilst the upper basin, with a climate which exhibits greater extremes of temperature, is in many parts hardly, if at all, inferior in fertility, and produces in abundance the great staples of food, besides other commodities in vast quantities. The Ganges receives as tributaries on its right bank the Jamnah which, with its great feeder, the Chambal, is scarcely less important than the main river) and the Son; on its left the Gumti, ie Ghoghra, the Gandak, and the Kosi. Of the innumerable arms hich inclose and intersect its delta, only the most westerly (the

Hugli) is usually navigable. Steamers can ascend the river as far as the junction with the Jamnah; and it is navigable for boats up to its descent from the mountains.

(3). The valley of the lower Brahmaputra, which drains the south-eastern slopes of the Himálayas and the mountainous region to the north of Burmah. The Delta of the Brahmaputra is contiguous to, and not clearly divided from, that of the Ganges—one mouth being fed by offshoots of both.

(4). The Great Indian Desert, which separates the lower valley of the Indus form part of the upper valley of the Ganges, which is watered by the Jamnah and its tributaries. It consists of extensive sandy tracts interspersed with several fertile *oases*, some of the latter being of considerable extent.

(5). A plateau or table land, whose western wall is formed by the range of the Arávali mountains, and its eastern by the hills of Bundelkhand. It slopes gradually from the Vindhya mountains on the south, till it sinks on the north to the Gangetic valley.

§ 5. Southern India is divided from Hindústán by the Vindhya mountain-system. It was formerly considered to be bounded on the north by the Narbaddah; but the mountains to the north of that valley mark a more definite frontier line, and we shall see hereafter that these highlands really indicate the boundary of different races. The Deccan is in the form of a triangle; its base, this range of hills; its sides, the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal respectively (the former on the west called the Malabar Coast, the latter on the east the Coromandel Coast); and its apex at Cape Comorin. The island of Ceylon, to the south, has been little concerned in the History of India, and need not be described here.

§ 6. There are four natural divisions of the Deccan:—

(1). The valleys of the Narbaddah and Táptí, running from east to west, south of the Vindhya range, and separated by the Sátpúra and Mahádeva hills. Both rivers rise in the hilly region in the east of Central India, which forms the watershed between their basins, and those of the Wain-Ganga (the northern affluent of the Godávarí and the Mahánadí. The upper valley

of the Mahánadí may be considered to belong to this region; the lower valley forms a part of the third division of the Deccan, and on its northern side is contiguous to the lower valley of the Ganges.

(2). South of the basin of the Táptí, the land rises to a plateau, which is bounded on the west by the lofty range of the Western Gháts, and on the east by the lower and less continuous chain of the Eastern Gháts. These hills run south-east and south-west respectively, nearly parallel to the adjacent coasts. They meet at the southern corner of the plateau (which thus forms a triangle nearly similar to the great triangle of Southern India, of which it is the central division) and are then continued in a single range to Cape Comorin. The Western Gháts are the watershed of the country south of the Táptí; and hence all the rivers of any consequence—the Godávarí, the Krishna, the Káverí—rising in these hills, find their way eastward to the Bay of Bengal through the valleys of the plateau and the extensive breaks in the chain of the Eastern Gháts. This great table-land is divided by the valley of the Krishna into two smaller plateaux; the northern, which is the larger of the two, being often called the Deccan Proper, or simply *the Deccan;* the southern, the plateau of Maisúr or Mysor. To the south of the plateau of Maisúr is a mountainous tract formed by the junction of the Eastern and Western Gháts. This group is called the Nilgiri Hills, and from its elevation possesses a climate as temperate as that of France. For Europeans it is one of the healthiest localities in India.

(3). The low lands which lie between the Eastern Gháts and the Bay of Bengal are in many parts of considerable extent. They stretch from the valley of the Mahánadí to the southern point of the continent, and include the lower basins of the Mahánadí, the Godávarí, the Krishna, and the Káverí. This tract, whilst it contains some of the hottest districts in India, is also highly productive; but its coast is almost totally destitute of harbours.

(4). The strip of country between the Western Gháts and the Indian Ocean, extending from Cape Comorin to the mouth of the Táptí, whilst it is far narrower and more rugged than the

last division, abounds in natural harbours, and has been from time immemorial the resort of an extensive maritime commerce.

§ 7. From this description it will be seen that India can only be entered from the sea or by crossing lofty mountains. These mountains are generally (as in the case of the northern frontier) so high and continuous as to be impassable; or where they are lower and more accessible (as on the west and east), the barrier is strengthened by the addition of a large and rapid river to be crossed almost at the foot of each range. In this way the lower courses of the Indus and the Brahmaputra, whilst they lie within the natural frontier line, materially increase the strength of their respective frontiers, of which they form as it were the lining. The only points which are assailable, are the north-western corner of the Panjáb, and the western frontier of Sind. Here are the great passes into Afghánistán and Balochistán, over the mountains which connect the Sulaimán with the Himálaya range, and through those which lie south and west of the Sulaimán range. By these roads nearly all the early invaders entered India.

§ 8. But this gate, the only land approach to India, has always been easy to guard by any military Power that commands the Passes. The defiles are narrow, the mountain road long; and these considerations, together with the fact that the adjacent hills have been inhabited by wild and predatory tribes, presumably hostile to an invader, have probably frequently deterred the hostile attempts of ambitious conquerors. The requirements and improvements of modern warfare increased rather than lessened the difficulties of an invasion from Afghánistán or Central Asia; and when it became necessary for an invading force to drag with it heavy trains of field and siege guns, India became virtually secure on its land side. From that time it has been, and apparently will continue to be, almost hopeless for any external Power to attempt to obtain a footing in the country, unless it has such a superiority over all rivals at sea as to enable it to make the three thousand miles of sea-board at once an open gate leading to every part of the country, and a basis for military operations.

§ 9. In the following pages we shall see that the history of India has been largely affected by its geography; it may be well here to point out one or two salient features in which this has been the case. *First*, its geographical isolation has had a strongly marked effect on the national mind and on the national habits. Shut out during long ages from any active intercourse with other nations of a more progressive character, and usually undisturbed by any deeply-stirring revolution, the manners and customs and outward life generally of the natives of this country have been of a singularly stationary and unchanging nature. The national intellect, from the same causes, has always been of an unpractical and speculative cast; whilst its lack of external influence and excitement made it at once original and self-sufficient, the same want caused an extreme addiction to a dreamy self-contemplation. This tone of thought made philosophy and the abstract sciences not only the highest, but also almost the only worthy object of man's pursuit; it produced a theology either absurdly dogmatical or wildly metaphysical, or both—a system of mathematical and physical science in which proofs of great skill and high cultivation appear side by side with visionary and ridiculous theories; and these and similar studies usurped, not only their due share of the attention of the learned, but also that share which, amongst less secluded races, has been devoted to the various useful and elegant sciences and arts which have contributed to the perfection of modern civilization. *Secondly*, whilst the strength of the national frontiers has rendered attempts at invasion rare, it will be seen that the attempts that have been made have been almost always successful; which fact may perhaps be explained as follows: On the one hand, the difficulties of approach were always in themselves so formidable, that no reasonable commander would attempt an invasion except in great strength: on the other hand, long habituation to peace, and the enervating tendency of a comparatively inactive life in a hot climate, on a soil that required very little labour for its cultivation, rendered the inhabitants for the most part so unwarlike, that an army which had survived the dangers and hardships of the Himálayas, and the hostility of rough and hardy hill-tribes, usually had little to fear from the resistance of the dwellers in the plains.

PART II.—THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF INDIA.

§ 10. Divisions. § 11. British India. § 12. Feudatory States. § 13. Frontier Native States. § 14. Territories of Foreign European Powers. § 15. British Territories outside the limits of India Proper.

§ 10. The political division of the Indian Empire at the present time into British India and Feudatory States is not of great historical importance; for it has only been gradually established during the last hundred years. But the sub-divisions of British India into provinces and districts, and the divisions of the rest of India, are generally the relics of ancient territorial divisions which will frequently be referred to in the following pages; and consequently some knowledge of their situation and extent will be essential to the student of Indian history.

§ 11. India, as it has been defined in the First Part, contains about fifteen hundred thousand square miles, and a population of two hundred and forty millions. Of this, about nine hundred and eight thousand square miles, and a population of one hundred and ninety millions, are under the direct rule of the British Government, represented by a Viceroy or Governor-General. British India is at present divided for administrative purposes into the following provinces :—

(1). Assám, consisting of the valley of the Brahmaputra and some adjacent hill tracts, under a Chief Commissioner. Its chief town is Gauháti, and the seat of the Government is at Shillong.

(2). Bengal, including (besides Bengal Proper), Orissa, Bihár, and Chota Nágpur, under a Lieutenant-Governor. Bengal Proper extends over the lower courses of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, including the large delta formed by those rivers. Its chief towns are Calcutta, Dacca, Hugli, and Murshidábád.

Orissa is south-west of Bengal Proper, on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, and consists of the basin of the Mahánadí and some other streams. Its inland districts form a wild and mountainous region, in which meet the northern continuations of the Eastern Gháts and the eastern continuations of the mountains of Central India. Its chief towns are Katak (or Cuttack), and Puri.

Bihár is a province north-west of Bengal, on the Ganges. Its chief town is Patna.

Chota Nágpur is a hilly inland province nearly as large as Assám; it is bounded on the north by Bihár; on the east by Bengal Proper; on the south by Orissa; and on the west by the Central Provinces, and by the Feudatory State of Rewah. Its chief town is Ránchi.

South of Assám, in the eastern part of the Province, are a number of hill-tracts. Besides these territories under direct British rule, there are various Tributary States in the Himálayan and eastern valleys, and in Orissa and Chota Nágpur.

The total area of the territories belonging to or connected with Bengal (including the Chief-Commissionership of Assám, only recently separated from it) is about two hundred and fifty thousand square miles; the population is about sixty-seven millions. The Government of Bengal was separated from that of the Supreme Government of India in 1843, and erected into a Lieutenant-Governorship in 1854.

(3). The North-West Provinces, and Oudh, including the divisions of Benáres, Allahábád, Agrá, Rohilkhand, Kumáon, Mirat (or Meerut), and Jhánsi; and the Chief-Commissionership of Oudh, added to the North-West in 1877. Of these, Benáres comprehends that part of the basín of the Ganges which lies west and north-west of Bihár; Allahábád, Agrá, and Mirat successively occupy the basins of the Ganges and the Jamnah, and the *Doáb* between those rivers; Rohilkhand is north of Mirat and Agrá, east of the Ganges, and extends to the Himálayas; Kumáon (including Garhwál) is in the Himálayas, north of Rohilkhand; and Jhánsi is a province lying south of the Jamnah, and west of the Native States of Bundelkhand.

The North-West Provinces are, since 1834, under a Lieutenant-Governor; they comprise an area of 81,403 square miles, and contain a population of over thirty millions, with many important towns and cities, of which the chief are Agrá, Allahábád, and Benáres.

Oudh is a rich and extensive province enclosed between the sub-Himálayan State of Nepál on the north, and the

territories of the North-West Provinces on the east, south, and west. It is watered by the Ghoghra, the Gumtí, and other tributaries of the Ganges.

It is administered by a Chief Commissioner, who is also Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. It occupies an area of about twenty-four thousand square miles, with a population of about twelve millions. Its chief towns are Lakhnau (or Lucknow) and Faizábád, near the remains of the ancient and famous city of Ayodhyá or Oudh. The Lucknow residency was originally formed in 1773; and the Chief-Commissionership was formed on the annexation in 1856.

(4). The Panjáb and its dependencies are also under a Lieutenant-Governor. Their total area is about two hundred thousand square miles; of which about one-half is under direct British Government. The British territory consists of (1) the basin of the Indus and its five tributaries mentioned above; (2) the mountain valleys to the north-east and north-west of that basin (Kángrah Peshâwar, &c.); (3) the province of Delhi (recently taken from the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West, and added to the Panjáb), which lies to the south and south-east of that basin, and is separated from the North-West Provinces by the river Jamnah. The Panjáb contains a population of about nineteen millions. Its chief towns are Láhor, Multán, Amrítsar, and Delhi. On the annexation of the Panjáb in 1849 it was placed under a Board of Administration; in 1853 it was formed into a Chief-Commissionership, and in 1859 into a Lieutenant-Governorship.

(5). The Chief-Commissionership of the Central Provinces, with an area of 112,912 square miles, and a population of over nine millions, was formed in 1861 of three distinct territories, *viz* :—

The Ságar and Narbaddah territories, an elevated tract embracing a portion of the Vindhya and Mahádeva ranges, and containing the head-waters of the Narbaddah flowing westward, and of many tributaries of the Jamnah and Ganges flowing northward. These territories were ceded by the Mahrattas in 1818. The province lies south of that of Allahábád.

Nágpur is the country which lies south of the Ságar and Narbaddah territory, and comprises the basins of the upper waters of the Mahánadí and the Wainganga. This territory lapsed to the British on the death of the last Rájá of Nágpur in 1853.

The "Tributary Maháls," a territory lying to the east of Nágpur.

The Central Provinces are divided into the four Commissionerships of Nágpur, Jabalpur, Narbaddah, and Chattisgarh.

(6). The Barárs, or the Haidarábád Assigned Districts, comprise those districts which were assigned to the British by the Nizám of Haidarábád for debts due to the British Government, under the treaties of 1953 and 1801. They lie south and west of the Central Provinces, east of Khándesh in the Bombay Presidency, and adjoin the Nizám's dominions on the south. They contain an area of 17,728 square miles, and a population of two and a quarter millions; and are divided into the two Commissionerships of East Barár (capital Ilichpur) and West Barár (capital Akola).

(7). The Presidency of Bombay, under a Governor and Council, lies wholly on the western side of India. It embraces the upper half of the western coasts, together with part of the interior table land of the Deccan. Exclusive of Sind (which occupies the basin of the lower Indus), it comprises:—

Part of the ancient province of Gujarát, lying round the head of the Gulf of Cambáy.

Part of Khándesh, extending along the course of the Táptí and the lower portion of the Narbaddah.

The districts of the north and south Concan, which lie along the coast between the Western Gháts and the sea.

The districts of Ahmadnagar and Poona, and the province of Sátára, lying eastward of the Gháts and forming part of the table-land of the Deccan.

These provinces, with Sind, occupy an area of about one hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles, and contain a population of more than sixteen millions under direct British rule.

(8). The Presidency of Madras, with its feudatory dependencies, occupies all the southern part of the peninsula, extending

from Cape Comorin, to the borders of Bengal on the eastern coast, and to those of Bombay on the western coast. The area under direct British rule is 140,000 square miles, with a population numbering more than thirty millions. It comprises the following provinces:—

The Northern Circars, bounded on the north by Katak (or Cuttack) in Orissa, and on the west by the Eastern Gháts, is a rather narrow strip of sea coast, containing the basin of the Krishna. The chief town is Masulipatám, near the mouth of the Krishna.

The large province of the Carnatic embraces a large part of Southern India. It is divided into the Lower Carnatic, lying along the eastern coast below the Eastern Gháts; and the Upper Carnatic, an inland plateau above the line of those mountains. This province contains Madras, Arcot, and many other important towns.

Coimbator is a small inland territory in the western part of the Carnatic.

Malabar is a province on the western coast, north of the Feudatory State of Cochin; and north of Malabar is

South Canara, extending along the western coast as far as the Bombay district of North Canara, which intervenes between South Canara and the boundary of the Portuguese territory of Goa.

§ 12. About six hundred thousand square miles of territory in India are under the rule of native princes, under the protection of the British Indian Government. These States are bound by treaties, in return for this protection, to render certain feudal services to the paramount power; as, for instance, in some cases, to furnish a certain number of troops in time of war.

These States may conveniently be divided into five classes:—(1) the Native States of the Deccan and of South India; (2) the Maratha States; (3) the Rájpút States; (4) the Feudatory States of the Panjáb and Himálayas; (5) other protected States chiefly in Bundelkhand and Central India.

(1). Of the Native States of the Deccan by far the most important is that of the Nizám at Haidarábád, which contain

about eighty thousand square miles of territory. It comprises the table-land of the Deccan, being the central portion of Peninsular India, and is watered by the Godávarí and the Krishna and their tributaries. Besides Haidarábád, it contains Aurangabád and other important cities.

Mysor is the southern table-land of Peninsular India, south of the Nízam's dominions, and separated from them by a strip of the Madras territories.

Cochin is a small province on the south-west coast, south of Malabar. South of Cochin, and extending to Cape Comorin, is the Native State of Travancor.

(2). Of the Mahratta States, the most important forms the dominions of Sindia, sometimes called Gwálior from the name of its capital. It is of very irregular shape, stretching from near the head of the Gulf of Cambáy to the banks of the Jamnah. It includes nearly the whole of the plateau of Málwah, and contains more than thirty-three thousand square miles.

Most of Gujarát, including part of the peninsula of Káthiwár, is ruled by the Gaikwár. The capital is Baroda, near the Gulf of Cambáy. These dominions contain between four and five thousand square miles.

Indor, or the dominions of the family of Holkár, is a territory of very irregular shape, consisting of many detached portions. Part lies to the north, and part to the south, of the Vindhya mountains; the former being watered by the Chambal, the latter by the Narbaddah. The capital is Indor, situated on the plateau of Málwah. Its extent is upwards of eight thousand square miles.

Two other Mahratta States of small size are Kolhápur and Sáwant-Wári, nearly enclosed in the southern portion of the territories of the Bombay Presidency.

(3). The Rájpútána States are about twenty in number. Of these two (Ajmír and Mhairwára) are British possessions.

There are fifteen Rájpút States, of which the chief are Maiwár or Udaipur, Jaipur, formerly called Amber, and Márwár or Jodhpur. The capital of Udaipur is now a town of the same name; but was in early times Chitor, a fortress of great renown in Indian History.

In Rájpútána there are also two Ját States (Bhartpur and Dholepur or Gohad), and one Muhammadan State (Tank).

Rájpútána embraces the country of the Arávali mountains, and extends from Sind eastward to the valley of the Jamnah. It contains an area of more than one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, and a population of about ten millions.

(4). Within the Panjáb territories are many important Feudatory States. Of these the chief are :—(1) the Sikh State of Kapurthalla, in the Jálandhar *doáb*, between the Biás and the Satlej ; (2) the Cis-Satlej States, *i.e.*, the States *on this side* of the river Satlej, on its southern and south-eastern bank. The most important of the Cis-Satlej States are those of Pattiála, Jhind, and Nabha ; the Mahárájás of these three States are Játs (a tribe allied to the Rájpúts), and are descended from a common ancestor named Phul—whence they are sometimes called the Phulkian States.

The Hill states are situated in, or adjacent to, the valleys of the Himálayas ; the chief are those of Sirmúr Biláspur, Bussahir, and Nalagarh. To these may be added Sikhim, a small State much further to the eastward, between the territories of Nepál and Bhután. The Sanitarium of Dárjiling, belonging to the Government of Bengal, was purchased from the Rájá of Sikhim.

(5). In addition to the above are the States of Bundelkhand ; the important State of Bhopál, in the south-east corner of Málwah, extending from the Narbaddah northward over the Vindhya mountains ; the territory of Rewah, east of Bundelkhand ; Cutch, a State occupying a peninsula to the north-west of Gujarát, and under the government of a chief called the Ráo ; and many other States in Gujarát, in Málwah, and in many other parts of India.

§ 13. Of the Frontier Native States of the Indian Empire, Kashmír with its capital Srínagar, occupies a fine valley in the Himálayas north of the Panjáb. It is watered by the Jhelam. It formerly belonged to the Sikhs of the Panjáb ; and, on the conquest of the Panjáb in 1846, was placed under a Mahárájá.

Nepál is a narrow strip of territory extending along the southern slope of the Himálayas for a distance of about 500 miles. Its capital is Khátmandu. The ruling tribe is a Ghurká.

Bhután, to the east of Nepál, is bounded by the river Brahmaputra on the south and south-east, and the Himálayas on the north.

§ 14. The French possess the towns and adjoining land of Pondichery, Chandernagar, Kárikal, Mahé, and Yanaon. The Portuguese hold Goa, Diu, and Damán.

§ 15. It is unnecessary here to do more than mention the British possessions outside India proper, of the Island of Ceylon, south of India; and the territories of British Burmah (including Arakán, Pegu, and Tenasserim) to the east of the Bay of Bengal.

PART III.—RACES AND LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

§ 16. A collection of many nations. § 17. Foreigners. § 18. Muhammadans of foreign descent. § 19. Races that have occupied the country since the dawn of history. § 20. Successive waves of conquest. § 21. Aryan Races. § 22. Non-Aryan Races. § 23. Dravidians. § 24. Miscellaneous Non-Aryan Tribes.

§ 16. The population of India is composed of many distinct races, some differing widely from others in habits and customs, in language, in religion, and even in appearance; and the common name *Indian*, like the common name *European*, is applied to all the members of a collection of many nations. We will here analyse this collection as it exists at the present day; it will be seen hereafter that a clear understanding of this difference of race will be of the highest importance in the study of the earliest history, and will be necessary for the profitable study of the history of later times.

§ 17. It will be useful to exclude at once from our analysis all inhabitants of a distinctly foreign origin. Amongst these should be counted not only Europeans (including Eurasians or the offspring of a mixed parentage), Chinese and the other non-Indian Asiatics, and the many alien nationalities of comparatively recent Settlement in the country, but also such communities as the Armenians, the Jews of Cochin and other parts, and the Pársís:*

* The Pársís, chiefly resident in and about Bombay on the west coast, belong to the ancient Persian race, and are the descendants of refugees from Persia who fled to India on the fall of the Sassanian Dynasty in the 7th Century.

who, though long resident here, have always been insignificant in point of numbers, have always retained their alien characteristics, and have had no influence on the history of the country.

§ 18. We may also exclude at once from our analysis those Muhammadans who are of foreign descent,*—that is, those Muhammadans who are not descended from converted Hindús. Their number has been estimated at nearly one-half that of the entire Musalmán population. They are chiefly found in the upper basin of the Ganges; but they form an important element in the population throughout Northern India. They are divided into four classes: Sayyids, Mughuls, Pathána, and Shekhs. The Sayyids claim descent from the Prophet, taking the prefix Sayyid before their names, and sometimes the title Sháh. The Mughuls are, as their name implies, descendants of the companions or followers of the Tatár conquerors of India; and are less numerous than the other classes. They are generally fairer in complexion than the rest, and have a Tatár cast of countenance; the name is, however, very commonly applied to Persians resident in India. They are often known by the affix Beg; and sometimes use the prefix Mir or Mírzá. The Pathána are of Afghán origin, and are always known by the affix Khán. The Shekhs are a miscellaneous class, generally including all those Muhammadans who do not belong to any of the other classes. The Muhammadan aristocracy are much attached to the languages of their ancestors, Persian and Arabic, and study them carefully; but their common language is Hindústání (which is also a common medium of communication for all classes and in all parts of India.) This language was originally merely the *Urdu*, or camp dialect of the Musalmán invaders, and was formed by a mixture of *Persian* with the vernaculars of the basin of the Ganges.

§ 19. The remainder of the inhabitants belong to those races which have occupied the country since the dawn of history. They form the vast majority of the whole population. But amongst

* It is hardly necessary to observe that the broad division of the natives of India, into Hindús and Muhammadans, is founded on a distinction of religion only; even on the subject of religion it is apt to convey very erroneous notions; and it is of no ethnological importance whatever.

these are included numerous nations which differ from each other in all characteristics of race—appearance, manners, language—as widely as they differ from those nationalities which we have already excluded as being manifestly and historically foreign.

§ 20. All the countries best known in history have been peopled by successive waves of conquering invaders pressing more and more on the earliest inhabitants; and the latter, as we can assign to them no other origin, are usually called aborigines, or children of the soil. It has almost invariably happened that the conquering race has itself occupied the most fertile lands of the country, especially the river basins, and has either reduced the aboriginal tribes to a condition of serfdom, or has driven them to the more remote districts. In cases where a second race of invaders has followed on the first, and has succeeded in conquering it in its turn, the latter has usually been compelled to occupy the more remote districts, and has driven the aborigines still further back, into the inaccessible fastnesses of mountains and forests. It has long been known that India forms no exception to the general rule. The combined result of all researches clearly proves, by the most complete induction, that at least *one* such wave of conquest poured over the country in early times; and we have obtained a fairly intelligible account of that conquest (which will be briefly discussed in our first chapter) by combining the testimony of ancient literature with the results of investigations into modern race-characteristics and language. The last mentioned investigations appear even to point to another and earlier tide of invasion. For the sake of clearness, we shall first consider those races which came into India on the clearly defined wave of conquest mentioned above—those, namely, which are called the Aryan races, of whose advent and origin a short account will be given hereafter. The original language of these tribes was Sanskrit; and the various dialects in use at the present day, which are derived from this stock, together with the extent to which it is modified in them respectively, will afford us some guide in determining the full effects of this invasion on the population of India.

§ 21. The Aryans, entering by the north-west passes, and descending first the valley of the Indus, and then that of the

Ganges, attained their full strength and development on the latter river. Hence Hindí in its purest forms is very nearly connected with the parent Sanskrit. No less than 58 dialects of this great language have recently been enumerated;* of which perhaps the most important are Kanaúji, probably the descendant of the dialect of the old Aryan empire of Kanaúj, and Maithilí (similarly related to the language of the Aryan kingdom of Magadha). Various dialects of Hindí are spoken throughout the North-West Provinces, Oudh, Bundelkhand, Rajputána, and the province of Bíhar in Bengal; as well as in the greater portion of the Central Provinces, and in many parts of the Panjáb, Bombay and Madras. Hindí has retained the written character called Nágarí, hardly perceptibly differing from that in which the ancient Sanskrit was written. From its central position, its wide diffusion, and the similarity of its purest forms to the Sanskrit, it may be regarded as the truest representative of the real and original vernacular of the Hindu race—a recent authority has indeed stated his opinion that "all the other Aryan vernaculars are variants of it, caused by the influence of Non-Aryan communities."

Panjábi (with ten allied dialects, of which Jathki is perhaps the most important) is spoken by Síkhs and others on the upper waters of the Indus. Sindhi, with eight dialects is spoken on the lower course of the Indus, in Sindh and the neighbouring districts of Kach and Balochistan. Marathi is one of the strongest of the Aryan dialects; and, is spoken by at least ten millions of people in the Bombay Presidency, the Central Provinces, and the Nizám's dominions: it had seven dialects, and two forms of the *Nágari* character, called *Balbodh* and *Modi* respectively. Gujaráti is the language spoken in Gujarát and the neighbouring parts of the Bombay Presidency, and is also used as a commercial language by a large number of traders in the city of Bombay and other commercial centres in West and North-West India. Its written character is the *Balbodh*, a form of Gujaráti Nágari wanting the upper line. Bengálí is spoken in the lower valley

* *Languages of the East Indies*, by R. N. Cust, 1878.

of the Ganges; and Uriyá in Orissa, from the Ganges to the Mahánadí.

All these languages teach us that the nations which speak them are more or less Aryan in their descent. A considerable admixture of non-Sanskrit words in Bengálí implies that the advanced guard of the Aryan race, on its eastern frontier, has mingled largely with the conquered tribes; the language of Sindh in the extreme west of the Country, in like manner testifies to a large infusion of Balochí blood in its inhabitants; whilst Maráthí, extending over the north-west of the Deccan and into the adjacent parts of Hindústán and Uriyá occupying a similar but smaller space on the eastern side, are evidently frontier dialects, and show a very large admixture of non-Aryan races.

The other Aryan languages of India—each having a larger or smaller number of dialectic varieties—are the following:—

Pashtu, the language of the Afghans, spoken in Peshâwar and the other Afghan districts in or adjoining the Panjáb.

Balochi and *Brahui*, the languages of Balochistan, spoken on the frontiers of the Panjáb and Sind.

Kashmiri, in Kashmir.

Nepâli, in Nepál.

Sinhalese, or *Cinghalese*, in Ceylon.

§ 22. The remainder of the indigenous races of India we have classified as non-Aryan; and many, perhaps most, scholars incline to the belief that there is a sufficient family likeness between all of them to justify us in grouping them thus. But their diversities are still numerous and great. One such diversity, clearly defined and obvious, meets us at the outset.

§ 23. A large portion of this remainder consists of nations hardly, if at all, less civilised and polished than those of the Aryan stock; living in towns and villages, in plains and river basins. Their location, it is true, is situated to the south of the mountain ranges which cut off the Deccan from Hindústán, and is therefore remote from the coveted lands of the fertile northern plains; but the soil they cultivate is generally good, and often rich. They

for the most part profess a religion which is more or less based on the Brahmanical religion of their Aryan neighbours; and their manners and customs are generally not very unlike those of the latter. Above all, they possess polished and cultivated languages, one at least of which (Támil) boasts a considerable literature. At the same time their personal appearance usually testifies that they are not connected by descent with the Aryans; and the evidence of their languages decisively proves that they belong to an entirely different race. This race has been called *Dravidian*, from *Drávada*, once the name of a considerable district of Southern India. Of the Dravidian languages, *Telugu* is the speech of the largest community and the finest tribes of Southern India. On account of its soft accent and musical tone, it has been called by Europeans the Italian of the East. Telugu-speaking peoples occupy the greater portion of the eastern side of the Deccan, a territory whose limits coincide in some respects with those of the ancient kingdom of Telingánah, and which is bounded on the north-west by Márathí-speaking races, and on the north by the Uriyás. The Canarese language is the vernacular throughout the great part (including all the southern portion) of the valleys and table-lands between the Eastern and Western Ghâts, which formed our second geographical division of the Deccan; and it extends in parts to the western coast. Its name is derived from that of the ancient *Çarnatic* kingdom, from which also spring the names of the British districts *Canara* and the *Carnatic*; but the student must not be misled by this similarity of name, for these two districts lie for the most part beyond the limits of the Canarese language. A similar caution is necessary with regard to the *Támil* language, which is frequently called *Malabar*, whilst it is chiefly spoken on the *Coromandel* coast. *Támil*, and its western variety Malayálam (which is *really* spoken on the lower part of the Malabar coast), are the vernaculars of the whole of the southern corner of India, including the southern portions of our third and fourth geographical divisions of the Deccan. This language shows marks of great culture and refinement, and possesses a considerable literature. The architectural and other remains that are scattere over the country, the state of the language, and the extent of t

literature, confirm the traditions that the Támilian race attained a high state of civilisation in very remote ages—probably long before the Aryan invasion of India.

The other Dravidian languages of India are more or less uncultivated; and are confined to limited areas. They are—

Tulu, spoken on the west coast of the Madras Presidency.

Kudagu, in Coorg.

Toda, and *Kota*, in the Nilgiri Hills.

Khand, in Ganjam and Orissa.

Gond, in the Northern districts of Madras and in the Central Provinces.

Oraon, and *Rajmahálí*, in Bihár (Bengal).

§ 24. The other great branches of the non-Aryan races and tongues of India embrace all those scattered remains of a primitive population that are now found especially in the more remote or inaccessible districts—in the rugged mountains of the north-east frontier—in the sub-Himálayan region and the Tarái or swampy jungle which forms a belt between that region and the plains—in the vast forests and on the hills of Central India—and throughout the whole extent of both ranges of Gháts and the least accessible parts of the adjoining hill districts. To these also may probably be added a considerable portion of the lowest stratum of the population of the plains, who preferred slavery to exile from their ancient homes, and who probably ultimately formed the greater part (in Northern India) of that vast class who were uniformly repressed by the old Bráhmanic system under the general caste-name of Sudras [*see* Chap. I., § 3]

It is not necessary here to speak of these scattered languages and races in any detail. Their chief divisions have been named as follows:—

The *Kolarian* Family, in Bíhár and the Central Provinces; of which the best-known tribe is the *Santáli*.]

The *Thibeto-Burman* Family, including many branches in Nepál, Sikhím, Assám, Eastern Bengal, Manipur, and Burmah.

The *Khasi* Family, in Assám.

CHAPTER I.

THE HINDU PERIOD.

PART I.—THE ARYAN INVASION. THE ACCOUNTS OF THE VEDAS.

§ 1. General character of Indian history. § 2. The Vedas. § 3. The Aboriginal Inhabitants of India. § 4. The Primitive Aryans. § 5. The Aryan Invasion.

§ 1. The history of a country usually consists of two parts; an earlier portion, about which our sources of information are few and for the most part untrustworthy; and a later portion, about which we possess full and connected accounts. The earlier portion is often called the *legendary* period, because our chief sources of information are usually in the form of legends or ancient popular tales; the later portion is called the historical period. The history of India, before the Muhammadan invasions, belongs chiefly to the former period; no connected account can be given of events before that era.

It usually happens in the history of a country that during a long middle period (sometimes called the *transition*) the accounts are partly legendary and partly historical. This, however, is less true of the history of India, than of that of most other countries; for the history of the latter part of the Hindú period is not much clearer or more accurate than that of earlier parts. On the other hand, it usually happens that in the legendary period, there are certain points or landmarks about which our information is (owing to some accidental cause) so full and accurate as to deserve the name of history. These accidental causes usually are: *first*, temporary contact with foreign nations whose history has been more carefully preserved; *secondly*, the testimony of some writer whose works possess extraordinary claims to credibility; *thirdly*, the testimony of the inscriptions on coins,

buildings, on memorial stones or pieces of metal. We shall see that these causes have thrown much light on some isolated periods in early Indian history.

§ 2. In that section of our Introduction which treated of the races and languages of India, we pointed out that the original (or indigenous) inhabitants of India were at a very early time, before the dawn of history, conquered and partially dispossessed by a race of invaders called Aryans.

The accounts, both of the early Aryan invaders and of their predecessors in the country, are mainly derived from an examination of the Hymns of the Vedas, the most ancient religious books of the Aryans; supplemented by the hints derived from investigations into the languages of the various Aryan tribes, and from a comparison of the manners, customs, and languages of the non-Aryan tribes at present inhabiting some parts of India.

There are four Vedas, called the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, and the Atharva-Veda. Each Veda is divided into two parts: the Hymns or Mantras *(Sanhitás)* which express the wants and aspirations of the worshippers, and hence throw light on the social condition of the people; and the Bráhmanas mainly referring to religious rites and ceremonies.

Of these writings the most important are the Hymns of the Rig-Veda, which is the oldest of the Vedas, and the oldest work in any Aryan language (its date is supposed to be about 1400 B.C.) The Hymns are addressed to a deity manifested in the phenomena of nature—to Indra, the god of the sky, often represented as the Supreme God—to Agni, the god of fire—to Varuna, the god of the firmament and of rain—to Savitri, Surya, Mitra, names of the god of the sun—to Vayu, the air—the Maruts or winds—Ushas, the dawn—the Aswins, and many others.

§ 3. From the Rig-Veda we learn that the aborigines of India—called herein Dasyus, Rákshasas, Asuras, or Pisáchas—were a dark-complexioned race who did not worship the gods of the Aryans. Many of these aboriginal tribes were very powerful and offered great resistance to the invaders. One of their chiefs was called Sambara, who is said to have dwelt forty years upon

the mountains, and to have possessed one hundred strong cities. The non-Aryans were, however, ultimately conquered: some were driven to the mountains and forests, where (as we noticed in the Introduction) they are to be found at the present day; some probably retained their power and became highly civilized, in the south of India; and others were reduced to slavery, and ultimately mixing with their conquerors, formed the lowest class of the modern Hindús.

§ 4. With regard to the invaders of India, language teaches us that they belong to a race (called Aryan or Indo-European) which included the ancient Greeks, Romans and Persians, and most of the modern nations of Europe, such as the English, Germans, French, and many others. All these nations originally lived together as one tribe; inhabiting a country abounding in mountains, lakes, and forests, and possessing a rather cold climate —probably the elevated country of Central Asia about the banks of the Oxus. The European tribes were the first to leave, one by one, this early home of their race; the Persian and Hindú Aryans seem to have long remained together. Finally these too separated; and the Hindú Aryans directed their march through the Hindú Kush and Himálaya mountains, towards the plains of India.

§ 5. These Aryan invaders were settled, during the centuries to which the Vedas chiefly refer, in the Panjáb. The Saraswatí (a small river between the Satlej and the Jamnah, which now loses itself in the sands of the desert) at this early period flowed into the Indus; and from the sacred character which is usually ascribed to it * it is believed to have flowed through the centre of the chief Aryan settlements, which were probably located on its banks during many hundreds of years. They were a people partly pastoral, partly agricultural. That they had attained a certain degree of civilization is obvious, from the fact that they possessed houses, chariots, mailed armour, ships, and merchandise. The system of government was apparently a patriarchal one—the head of the family being the chief of the tribe and also its priest. The country created or frequented by the Devatas, or gods of the

* Some great authorities identify the Saraswatí with the Indus.

Vaidik Aryans, is called *Brahmávartta* by Manu; and it is probable that this name was meant to include all that part of the Panjáb which was occupied by this race before it penetrated further into Hindústán.

PART II.—THE CONQUEST OF HINDUSTAN BY THE ARYANS.

§ 6. The Aryan Conquest of Hindústán. § 7. The rise of the Monarchy and the Priesthood. § 8. The Sanskrit language. § 9. The Great Epic Poems.

§ 6. Gradually the Aryan invaders, crossing the Saraswatí, began to push their conquests southward and eastward in Hindústan. The period of their advance has been called the Heroic Period of Indian history; and probably occupied many centuries. They appear first to have occupied the country from the Saraswatí to the Ganges, called by Manu *Brahmarshi-desa*, or the country of divine sages, the peculiar country of the Bráhmans [*see* § 27]. Then they passed on to the *Madhya-desa*, or middle land; extending as far as the junction of the Jamnah and the Ganges, and from the Vindhya mountains on the south to the Himálayas on the north. And finally they became masters of the whole country, from the Western or Arabian Sea to the Eastern Sea or Bay of Bengal, called *Aryávartta*, or the land of the Aryans.

§ 7. It is obvious that many social, religious, and constitutional changes must have occurred amongst the invaders, during the centuries of their slow advance down the valleys of the Jamnah and the Ganges. At the commencement of this period, they probably still retained the patriarchal simplicity of the Vaidik times. Gradually, as many clans or families united for purposes of warfare, the heads or chiefs of some of these clans got more power than the rest, and became Rájás or Kings. At the same time they ceased to act as priests for their clans, finding it more convenient to employ substitutes; these substitutes gradually became the hereditary priests of the people; and in this way it is probable that the Bráhmanic priesthood sprang into existence during the Heroic Period. At first they were doubtless subservient to the military class, called the Kshatriyas; and they probably remained so during the times of war and disturb-

ance that accompanied and followed the Aryan conquest of Hindústán. But when the invaders began to settle down peaceably in their new country, the Bráhmans commenced a series of encroachments on the power of the Kshatriyas, which terminated in the complete supremacy of the former.

The establishment of the power of the Bráhmans, and the humiliation of the Kshatriyas, probably occupied a long series of years; but it is represented in the legends as having been accomplished in one bloody war. The Kshatriyas are said to have slaughtered a tribe called the Bhrigus; and in revenge Parasu Ráma twenty-one times extirpated the whole race of the Kshatriyas. This is obviously an exaggeration; the truth probably being that those Kshatriyas who refused to acknowledge the Bráhmanic system, were conquered and slain or banished.

§ 8. The language of the early Aryan Hindús, the Sanskrit, of which we get the earliest known form in the Vedás, is one of the most beautiful and most perfect languages of the world. It forms the basis of most of the modern languages of Northern India (*see* Introduction, § 21). It reached its highest development in the great Epic Poems of the Hindús, the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana.

§ 9. The events commemorated in the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana appear to have occurred at undefined periods during the Heroic Age; and are reproduced in the poems, mixed up with an infinite number of additions and exaggerations [*see* § 19].

PART III.—THE LEGENDS OF THE MAHABHARATA.

§ 10. The war between the Pándavas and the Kauravas, the main story of the Mahábhárata. § 11. The Episodes of the Mahábhárata; the Bhagavad-Gitá, the stories of Sávitrí, of Nala and Damayantí, of the Harivansa, of the Deluge of Manu, of Sakuntalá.

§ 10. The Mahábhárata is a vast storehouse of legends, containing (it is believed) one hundred thousand stanzas. It is said to have been compiled by Vyása; but Vyása means simply an arranger, and seems hardly to be a proper name—the same name being given also to the compiler of the Vedas.

The poem consists of a main story (the great war between the Pándavas and the Kauravas); and a large number of long and important episodes.

The legend of the Great War is as follows :—

A royal family, said to be descended from the Moon, and hence called the lunar race, had removed from Prayág (or Allahábád) to Hastinápura, a town on the Ganges not very far from the site of the modern Delhi. Bharata had been king of this city [*see* § 110], and was ancestor of two brothers—the younger named Pándu, and the elder Dhritaráshtra. Pándu ruled the kingdom successfully for some time; but at length abdicated, and retired with his wife and his five sons (the Pándavas) to the jungles of the Himálayas. Dhritaráshtra succeeded to the throne in his brother's absence. Before long Pándu died in his mountain retreat; and his widow Kunti and his five sons, the Pándavas-Yudhisthira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadeva—returned to Hastinápura, to the protection of Rájá Dhritaráshtra. The Rájá had a hundred sons (the Kauravas or Kurus) of whom the eldest was Duryodhana, and there was great jealousy between the Pándavas and the Kurus, which was increased by the nomination of Yudhisthira as Yuvarája or heir-apparent of his uncle the Rájá, who was now blind. The tutor of all the young princes was a Bráhman named Drona, who had come to live at Hastinápura, on account of an insult received from the King of Panchála, a neighbouring principality.

The jealousy at length grew to such a pitch that Dhritaráshtra was persuaded to send away the Pándavas to Váranávata (the modern Allahábád). Here their cousin Duryodhana, the eldest of the Kauravas, endeavoured to destory them by burning their house which he had caused to be made of lac; but they fled, and were enabled to get away safely by a report that they had been burnt in the fire.

In the meantime, Drupada, the King of Panchála had proclaimed a Swayamvara [*see* below, § 24], to find a husband for his beautiful daughter Draupadí. The Pándavas attended; Arjuna won the lady, who became the joint wife of the five brothers. In consequence of this powerful alliance, the Kauravas agreed to give up to

the Pándavas a part of the realm of Hastinápura; and the latter built a capital for themselves at Indraprashtha, the site of the modern Delhi.

Yudhisthira, the eldest of the Pándavas, being now triumphant, performed the great sacrifice called the Rájasúya [*see* below, § 24] to indicate his position as an independent Rájá.

Duryodhana now challenged Yudhisthira to a gambling match. The latter lost all he possessed, and finally staked and lost himself and his wife Draupadí. The latter was grossly insulted by the victorious Kauravas, but was finally (by order of the blind old king Dhritaráshtra) allowed to depart with her five husbands; and they all went into exile for twelve years in the jungles.

In the thirteenth year of their exile they went in disguise to a city called Viráta, whose Rájá they helped in a war against the Kauravas. Krishna, afterwards worshipped as an *avatár* or incarnation of Vishnu, had several times appeared as an ally of the Pándavas, and is represented as a hero or demi-god of the first rank. His part in the poem is so important that he has sometimes been considered the real hero of the Mahábhárata. He now endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the cousins, but failed; and thereupon followed the catastrophe of the whole poem.

The two parties, with their respective allies, met on the bloody field of Kurukshetra. Krishna, the Rájá of Viráta, and the Rájá of Panchála helped the Pándavas; Drona and the Rájá of Madra were the chief allies of the Kauravas; and on the battle-field appeared the ancestors of most of the princes of India of later times.

The battle lasted for eighteen days. All the Kurus except three were slain, when the fighting ended. These three, however, in the succeeding night treacherously murdered all the Pándava troops in their sleep, with the exception of the five brothers and their wife Draupadí.

The Pándavas were now triumphant, and Yudhisthira was Rájá of Hastinápura as well as of Indraprashtha. But they were miserable at the loss of all their relatives. They resigned th kingdom, and with their wife retired to the Himálayas, wh they were translated to heaven by Indra.

§ 11. There are many well-known and important episodes in the Mahábhárata. A beautiful philosophical dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna, just before the commencement of the great battle of Kurukshetra, is called the *Bhagavadgítá*. It is an illustration of Yoga doctrine [*see* below, § 37], and was probably a late addition to the poem.

Another beautiful episode is the legend of the lovely *Sávitrí* and her devoted love for her husband Satyavan. She ultimately saved him from the death to which he had been fated, by her importunity in demanding his life from Yama, god of death.

The most celebrated of these episodes is the exquisite story of *Nala* and *Damayantí*. Damayantí was the beautiful daughter of Bhima, king of Vidarbha or Barár [*see* Introduction, § 11]; and Nala was the youthful Rájá of the neighbouring kingdom of Nishada. They loved one another; and Nala won the hand of Damayantí at the Swayamvara, in spite of the opposition of four gods who also loved the damsel. Hereby he attracted the jealousy of the demon Kali, by whose machinations he subsequently lost all his possessions in gambling, and retired in despair to the jungles. He was accompanied by the faithful Damayantí; but deserted her in the forest at the instigation of the demon. The poem is mainly occupied with the wanderings of Damayantí; her return to her fathers' court, her long search for the lost Nala, and their final happy reunion.

The *Harivansa*, or Family of Vishnu, forms a sort of appendix to the Mahábhárata. It recounts the adventures of Krishna, and the fate of his family; but commences with an account of the creation of the world, and of the patriarchal and regal dynasties.

Another episode is *The Story of the Deluge of Mánu*, corresponding to the Deluge of Noah. The story of Sakuntalá, the subject at a later period of a beautiful drama by Kálidása, [*see* § 110], also appears in the form of an episode in the Mahábhárata; and there are many others:—all the episodes occupying about three-fourths of the poem.

PART IV.—THE RAMAYANA.

§ 12. The scene. § 13. The author. § 14. The youth of Ráma. § 15. Ráma's banishment. § 16. His wanderings. § 17. Sítá carried off by Rávana. § 18. The invasion of Ceylon.

§ 12. The scene of the Mahábhárata was mainly laid in the North-West of Hindústán; but the scene of the Rámáyana is far more extended in its range. The Aryan Hindús are represented in the Rámáyana, not only as possessing rich and powerful kingdoms in Ayodhyá and Míthilá (the modern Oudh and Tirhút), but also as penetrating into the forests of Gondwána and the Deccan, and even invading Lanká, the modern Ceylon. This is one of the reasons why it seems likely that some of the events referred to are of a later date than those referred to in the Mahábhárata.

§ 13. The author of the poem was Valmíki; he is thought by some to have lived in the age of Ráma, who is the hero of the legends.

§ 14. Ráma, afterwards worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu, was the eldest son of Dasaratha, king of the rich and prosperous city of Ayodhyá or Oudh; of the race of Ikshwáku, said to be descended from the Sun, and hence called a solar race. He had a brother named Lakshmana; and two half-brothers, of whom one was Bharata, the son of Kaikeyí, the second wife of Dasaratha. By snapping the great bow of Mahádeva possessed by Janaka, king of Míthilá, Ráma won for his bride the lovely Sítá, the daughter of Janaka; and his brothers married the three other princesses of Míthilá. Dasaratha, overjoyed at the heroism of his son, attended his nuptials; and on his return to Ayodhyá, prepared to celebrate the elevation of Ráma to the dignity of Yuvarája or heir-apparent.

§ 15. At this time the happiness of the royal family was marred by the malice of a waiting maid, who excited the jealousy of Queen Kaikeyí, and induced her to demand the office of Yuvarája for her son Bharata. Dasaratha had long before promised Kaikeyí to grant her any two boons she pleased to ask; and the queen shut herself up with tears and shrieks in the *Krodhágara*, or chamber of anger, until the old king consented, in the utmost misery, to banish Ráma for twice seven years, and to instal Bharata as Yuvarája.

Ráma piously prepared to obey his father's commands; and endeavoured to console his mother Kausalyá, his wife Sítá, and his brother Lakshmana. The two latter refused to leave him; and in their company, the hero left the city amid the wailings of the people.

§ 16. Every step of the wanderings of Ráma is well known by tradition, and the journey is annually traversed by thousands of pilgrims at the present day. From the banks of the Ghoghra he went to those of the Gumtí, thence to the Ganges in the neighbourhood of Allahábád, and thence into the district of Bundelkhand. Here he was affectionately visited by his brother Bharata, who had sternly refused to profit by the machinations of Kaikeyí; and by him he was told of the death of his father Dasaratha, and was implored to return and take the kingdom. Ráma refused, declaring that he must fulfil his father's vow; and for ten years he and Sítá and Lakshmana continued to wander from hermitage to hermitage in the great forest of Dandaka, probably the forests of Central India.

§ 17. At length the famous hermit Agastya [*see* § 91] presented Ráma with a bow and weapons of miraculous power, and advised him to live for the remainder of his exile at Janasthána on the banks of the Godávarí. These forests were at that time inhabited by Rákshasas (or monsters) and monkeys; who are generally believed to represent the aboriginal tribes [*see* § 3]. A woman among these Rákshasas fell in love with Ráma; and being repelled by him, invoked the vengeance of her brother Rávana, the demon king of Lanká or Ceylon. Rávana by a stratagem succeeded in carrying off the faithful Sítá to his palace in Lanká.

§ 18. Ráma, in his pursuit of Rávana, was aided by the king of the Vultures, by Sugríva the king of the monkeys, and especially by Hanumán, the monkey-general; under which names, again, there is doubtless concealed a reference to an alliance between Ráma, the Aryan invader of South India, and some of the aboriginal tribes. By the aid of the gods and the monkeys a bridge was built from the mainland to Ceylon; and after many vicissitudes, Rávana was slain, and Sítá was recovered. Sítá, having undergone the trial by fire to prove that she had been

faithful to her husband, was joyfully received by Ráma, at the command of Agni, the god of fire; and the hero, accompanied by his wife and brother, by his monkey-allies, and by the brother of Rávana, who had joined the invaders, returned to Ayodhyá in triumph. They were received gladly by Bharata, who immediately surrendered to Ráma the kingdom which he had held in trust for him.

PART V.—THE HISTORICAL LESSONS OF THE MAHABHARATA AND RAMAYANA.

§ 19. The legends have a foundation of fact. § 20. The comparative age of the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana. § 21. Manners of the period of the Mahábhárata. § 22. Period intervening between the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana. § 23. Manners of the age of the Rámáyana. § 24. The *Swayamvara*, the *Rajasúya*, the *Aswamedha*.

§ 19. As the Mahábhárata doubtless refers to real quarrels that occurred amongst the invading Aryans during their conquest of Hindústán, and to real struggles between those Aryans and the aboriginal tribes, so in the fabulous stories of the Rámáyana there is doubtless a reference to a real invasion of South India and Ceylon by an Aryan conqueror in very early times. No portion of these conquests was, however, retained by the Aryans; for long after, in B.C. 546, Ceylon was still inhabited by Rákshasas (monsters, *i.e.*, unconquered aborigines), who are said to have been subsequently conquered by the Hindú warrior Vijaya. Amongst the Dravidian races of the southern coast of India, there are still ancient families who bear the name of Ikshwáku or Okkáku, Ráma's ancestor.

§ 20. It has been stated [§ 9] that the events referred to in these poems occurred at various undefined periods in the Heroic Age of India. The compilation of parts of the Mahábhárata was probably later than that of the Rámáyana; but as a rule, the historical facts concealed under the legends probably refer to a much earlier time. This is however opposed to the opinion of perhaps the majority of Hindú scholars; who not only regard the Rámáyana as more ancient than the Mahábhárata, but also believ that it refers to an earlier period. But it appears that the Aryr

were, at the time referred to in the Mahábhárata, mainly settled in the upper valleys of the Ganges and Jamnah; whilst in the time of the Rámáyana, they had full and peaceable possession of Oudh, and were pushing their conquests into the South of India.

§ 21. The habits of the people described in the Mahábhárata were primitive; their patriarchal households, under the mild despotism of the head of the family or clan, were most simple in their arrangements. Even those who are described in the legends as Princes and Rájás, tended cattle and cleared land by burning down jungle; they marked the calves of their herds at stated periods, and regularly performed most of the usual labours of farmers and rustics. Their meals were also simple; they were prepared by the mother or wife, and women took their meals humbly after the men. Flesh-meat and wine appeared at their banquets. All the men of a clan were brought up together and trained to defend their crops and cattle against enemies and robbers; and thus they were all more or less proficient in pugilism, wrestling, archery, throwing stones, casting nooses, and the use of the rude weapons of the age. Other marks of this warlike period were:—(1) a wife was carried off as a prize by the conqueror of the husband; (2) the notion that a challenge to fight should always be accepted, that a third party should never interfere whilst two combatants are fighting, that death is to be preferred to dishonour, and that revenge is more or less a virtuous action. The belief that the soul of a dead hero can be comforted by the society of a favourite female, appears to have been the origin of the later rite of *Satí*, or widow-burning; this revolting rite, however, was probably not established till many centuries later.* The most degrading custom of this early age was polyandry, or the marriage of one woman to many men, as exemplified in the case of Draupadí [*see* § 10]. The commonest vice was gambling.

* It is true that Mádri, the favourite wife of Pándu, became *Satí* on her husband's funeral pile, to prove that she was the best beloved; but this story is probably a later addition to the original legend, and no other instance occurs in the numerous stories of the Mahábhárata.

§ 22. Between the age described in the Mahábhárata and that described in the Rámáyana, many years, and perhaps many centuries, elapsed; during which the Aryan Hindús completed and settled their conquests in Hindústán. Of this period there is absolutely no history, except such as may be derived from the hints in the two poems themselves. Many of the episodes in the Mahábhárata, probably added at a later period, appear to refer to this time; wherein the Aryan heroes are described as fighting against the black-skinned aborigines, who are sometimes called Daityas, sometimes Asuras, and often represented as Rákshasas (monsters), or Nágas (serpents).

§ 23. In the Rámáyana, the habits of the people are described as much more civilised and even luxurious, than in the Mahábhárata. The primitive simplicity of the patriarchal household had disappeared; and though there is great exaggeration in the accounts, it appears certain that there must have been a good deal of wealth and luxury in the palaces of the Mahárájás. Polyandry no longer existed; nothing remained of it, except the Swayamvara [*see* § 24]. Polygamy (the marriage of one man to several women), and even monogamy (the marriage of one man to one woman, as in the case of Ráma and Sítá) had taken its place; and the main moral purpose of the Rámáyana was to expose the evils of polygamy, in the family quarrels that resulted from it in the palace of Dasaratha.

§ 24. Three remarkable customs or ceremonies frequently spoken of in the Epic Poems, remain to be described.

The SWAYAMVARA, or public choice of a husband by a damsel amongst many suitors, was not unknown in the earliest Vaidik times: for the two Aswins [*see* § 2] were said to have won their bride in this manner at a chariot race. In the same way Draupadí was won by the Pándavas, and Bhánumatí by Duryodhana, in archery contests; so also Damayantí was won by Nala. The custom consisted in the father of a marriageable damsel inviting all the eligible suitors for her hand to a festive assembly; and that suitor who most distinguished himself was usually chosen as the husband. The *tournament*, in the chivalrous age of Europe appears to have been a modified form of the Swayamvara.

The ceremony, known as the RAJASÚYA, was partly a coronation-feast to celebrate the accession of a Rájá, or his triumph over neighbouring Rájás; and partly a religious sacrifice. Animals were sacrificed and roasted, and duly offered with hymns and invocations to the gods; and were also served up at the national banquet to the kinsmen, neighbours, and tributary Rájás.

Another ceremony, used for asserting supremacy or sovereignty, was the ASWAMEDHA, or horse-sacrifice. It was more important than the Rajasuya, and indicated greater power on the part of the Rájá who performed it. A horse was taken of a black colour or else "pure white like the moon, with a yellow tail and a black right ear;" and was allowed by the Rájá to run loose, with certain public ceremonies. From that day and for a whole year, the horse was followed in its wanderings by the Rájá and his army. This was a direct challenge to every Rájá into whose territories the horse might wander. If the Rájá succeeded in conquering all the Rájás who resisted him or who tried to take away the horse, he returned in triumph at the end of the year to his own city, attended by all the subdued chieftains; and the Aswamedha was brought to a close by the sacrifice of the horse, and a grand banquet in which the flesh of the horse was eaten by the Rájá and the most distinguished guests.

PART VI.—THE RISE OF BRAHMANISM. THE LAWS OF MANU.

§ 25. The rise of the power of the Bráhmans. § 26. The Laws of Manu. § 27. Their date. § 28. The Caste system. § 29. The Government. § 30. The Village system. § 31. The Administration of Justice. § 32. Religion. § 33. General features of the period described in Manu.

§ 25. The Aryan conquest of Hindústán, effected during the period treated of in the Mahábhárata and the Ramáyána, was mainly carried out whilst the Bráhmans were employed as mere animal sacrificers, and before they had attained political power. During the rise of the Aryan Hindú empires, the Bráhmans may have occasionally struggled to assert their supremacy; but in so doing they met with considerable opposition from the Mahárájás. In the early times, the latter were their own priests; and marriage

rites were performed, not by a Bráhman, but by the father of the bride. Gradually as the Aryan conquests became more settled, and wealth and luxury increased, sacrifices became larger, and the Mahárájás began to employ priests as their substitutes in religious ceremonies. In this way the Bráhmans came to be regarded as the medium of communication between the people and their gods. They seem to have practised astrology, and to have assumed the possession of supernatural powers. Finally they asserted for themselves a divine origin from Brahma, the Creator, whom they now exalted above all the Vaidik deities; and consequently took upon themselves to put down the popular gods, to prescribe new religious doctrines, and to introduce numerous rites of purification and consecration. They were now necessarily present at the ceremonies in connection with every birth, marriage, and death. The prayers and incantations of the Bráhmans were supposed to be always necessary to insure the long life and prosperity of individuals and families; to procure a favourable seed-time and an abundant harvest; to promote the success of every undertaking; to purify the water of wells and strengthen the foundation of dwelling houses; and to ward off every danger. In this way they gradually acquired that power over the minds of the people, which was shown in the Laws of Manu (the *Mánava Dharma Sástra)*, and which made them the most despotic priesthood ever known in history. It appears more than doubtful whether the Bráhmans ever really possessed, even in the age to which the Laws of Manu refer, all that influence which is ascribed to them in the laws; but that their power became very great can hardly be doubted.

§ 26. The Laws of Manu are one of the Smritis, or Dharmasastras. They were compiled long after the full establishment of the power of the Bráhmans; and hence labour to magnify that power in every way. They afford a good general view of the estate of India and of Indian society, as it existed from that period to the time of Buddhist rule—*i.e.*, for several centuries *before* 300 B.C.

§ 27. The actual date of compilation was probably about ? B.C., or even later; indeed it is expressly stated in Manu

extensive portions of India and powerful kingdoms were in the hands of heretics, obviously referring to the Buddhists [*see* §§ 66—74]. The Aryans had now conquered the whole of Hindústán from Gujarát to Bengal; but the Bráhmans had not probably advanced further to the east than Kanaúj on the Ganges. The Aryans were directed to choose their Bráhman preceptors from Brahmárshi-Desa, the country of Bráhman Rishis [*see* § 6].

§ 28. The distinct and authoritative settlement of the caste system is one of the most prominent features of the Laws of Manu. The four castes were:—(1) the Bráhman, or priestly caste; (2) the Kshatriya, or military caste; (3) the Vaisya, or industrial caste; (4) the Sudra, or servile caste. The three first castes were called "twice-born;" and all the laws tend to their elevation and to the depression of the Sudras.

The most striking points in the caste system, as it existed at the time of these laws, were:

First, the extraordinary dignity and sanctity accorded to the Bráhmans, for whose good all other persons and all things were thought to be made; some of their privileges were also enjoyed, but in a far smaller degree, by the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas.

Secondly, the bitter contempt and even hatred felt and displayed against Sudras; their only duty was to serve the other castes, and especially the Bráhmans, but if they were unable to obtain any service, then they were allowed to earn a precarious subsistence (but never to get rich) by means of handicrafts. This degraded condition of the Sudras seems to indicate that they were the remains of conquered races, the conquerors being the "twice-born" [*see* § 3].

Thirdly, the absence of any provision for the regular performance of the mechanical arts and handicrafts, when the Sudras were able to find service as prescribed in the law. These functions were probably performed, as now, by the *mixed castes*,—*i.e.*, the castes formed by intermarriages between the four original castes.

It may be noted that the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes are said by some to be now extinct; though the Rájpúts and a few other tribes claim to be descended from the former, and a few industrial tribes call themselves Vaisyas. The great majority

of Hindús now belong to the mixed castes; which castes maintain their caste-distinctions with even more care than was formerly exhibited by the original castes.

§ 29. The government in the various States was under a Rájá, whose power was despotic according to the arrangements of Manu, except that he was bound to abide by the advice of the Bráhmans. It is a noteworthy fact that as the power of the Bráhmans increased, the jurisdiction of the Rájás become more despotic.

Under the king were the lords of 1,000 villages; under each of the latter were lords of 100 villages,—the 100 villages corresponding to what is called a Parganah. Under these again were the headmen of the villages, the *Mandals*, or *Patels*; and all those officers were regarded as officers of the Rájá.

§ 30. In the village communities, the system of administration seems to have been almost identical with that which has prevailed in India for ages. The headman settled with the Rájá the sum to be paid as revenue; apportioned these payments amongst the villages; and was answerable for these payments, and for the good conduct of the village. He held a portion of land rent-free, and he also received fees from the villagers, and was sometimes paid a salary by the Government. In all disputes he acted as umpire, assisted by arbitrators named by the disputants. The headman was assisted by various other officials, of whom the chief were the accountant and the watchman; all these officials were paid by fees, by assignments of rent-free land, and sometimes by salaries.

§ 31. The Laws of Manu regarding crimes were very rude, but not cruel; those regarding property were fair and good; and in both, directions were given about the most minute matters of daily life. The worst points were the favor shown to the higher castes, and the oppression of the Sudras.

§ 32. The same evils appeared in the religious and ceremonial laws, in which everything was done to exalt the Bráhmans. Otherwise, the religious doctrines were not very different from those of the Vedas; the gods worshipped were nearly the same

the gods worshipped in later times, Vishnu, Siva, &c., were never mentioned; and their incarnations or *avatárs* (Ráma, Krishna, &c.) were never alluded to. Satí was not thought of; indeed the widows of Bráhmans were enjoined to live a virtuous and holy life.

§ 33. High regard for immemorial custom is an important feature in the laws of Manu. The marriage laws were fair and just; the wife was commanded strictly to obey her husband, and other woman to obey their natural guardians; but every provision was made for the welfare of the female sex. Bráhmans were ordered to divide their lives into four portions; in their youth, they were to be students, and to observe celibacy; in the second portion of their lives, they were to live with their wives as householders, and discharge the ordinary duties of Bráhmans; in the third portion, they were to live as hermits in the woods, and submit to very severe penances; in the fourth, they were to engage solely in contemplation, and were freed from all ceremonial observances. The arts of life in this period, though still in a simple state, were not rude; and the numerous professions spoken of (goldsmiths, carvers, artists, &c.) show that the people possessed most things necessary to civilisation.

PART VII.—THE HINDU SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

§ 34. Rise of the Schools of Philosophy. § 35. The Upanishads. § 36. The six Darsanas, or Systems of Philosophy. § 37. The Sankhya and Yoga. § 38. The Nyáya and Vaiseshika. § 39. The Purva Mimánsá, and Uttara Mimánsá or Vedánta.

§ 34. The Hindús have always been fond of the study of philosophy; and as this study has much influenced their national character, and has even been supposed by some to have produced the great religious and political movement called Buddhism [*see* Part VIII.], it is necessary for the young student to pay some attention to its history. The schools of philosophy were not mentioned by Manu; but some observations on philosophy prove that the philosophic discussions, which ultimately gave rise to these schools, were already perfectly familiar to the Hindús. No

precise date can be assigned to the schools of philosophy. When the Bráhmans were thoroughly settled in their power, the life of contemplation, which they were enjoined to lead for many years, doubtless encouraged them to devote their attention to metaphysical questions; and hence we may presume that the schools of philosophy, or some of them, began about the period at which we have now arrived.

§ 35. In addition to the early parts of the Vedas, called the Sanhitás and the Bráhmanas [*see* § 2], there were many later writings founded on, or added to, the Vedas. Of these the most important are the UPANISHADS or theological tracts, embodied in the Bráhmanas, and dealing with philosophical speculations. These may be regarded as the foundation of all the Hindú schools of philosophy. They reveal the attempt of the Hindú mind to attain to the comprehension of one Supreme Being. They recognize that man belongs to the perishable world around, and also to the eternal world beyond; and they proceed to investigate the powers or faculties with which he is endowed, and to enquire how these powers may be used to procure escape from the perishable world, and the attainment of the eternal world.

§ 36. The result of this thought appeared in the six philosophic systems, or *Darśanas*. The metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, seems to be the fundamental doctrine of all these schools; and the object of all the systems, like that of Buddhism, seems to be "the discovery of the means of putting a stop to further transmigration," and the attainment of rest or happiness in some form or other. They all agree also that this end is to be attained only by a knowledge of truth. The six systems may be grouped as three pairs—each pair having more or less a method of its own. The first pair consists of (1) the *Sánkhya* system of Kapila, to which (2) the *Yoga* system of Patanjali is supplementary. The second pair consists of (3) the *Nyáya* system of Gautama, to which (4) the *Vaiseshik* system of Kanáda is supplementary. And the third pair cons of (5) the *Purva-Mimánsá* by Jaimini, to which (6) the *Utta Mimánsá* or Vedánta, by Vyása, is supplementary.

§ 37. The Sánkhya doctrines are mainly contained in the aphorisms of Kapila, and appear to be fundamentally *atheistic*. Kapila's attention is mainly devoted to the fact that man, and indeed all nature, is transitory; but that the soul is immortal, and may be freed from its association with Nature. Patanjali, the author of the Yoga system, proceeds by somewhat the same method, but insists emphatically on the existence of a God—hence his is called the *theistic* system.

§ 38. The Nyáya system of Gautama and the Vaiseshika system of Kanáda are sometimes called the logical systems. Gautama, in the Nyáya philosophy, developed a fairly complete system of logic and psychology. He took especial note of man's mental powers, and of the uses to which those powers may be applied. He held that God is the Supreme Soul, the seat of knowledge, the maker of all things. Kanáda, in the Vaiseshika system, held that the universe consists of temporary or transient collections of atoms—these atoms being themselves imperishable and eternal—hence his is called the *atomic* system.

§ 39. The Purva-Mimánsá is called *purva*, or former, because it teaches the art of reasoning with the express object of interpreting the *former* Vedas—*viz.*, the Sanhitás and Bráhmanas. Its aim is essentially religious, and it derives all things from God. The Uttara-Mimánsá, or Vedánta, is called *uttara*, or latter, because it is devoted to the interpretation of the latter part of the Vedas—*viz.*, the Upanishads. Vyása, in this system like Jaimini in the Purva-Mimánsá, derives all things from God. He teaches that the Universe emanates from Brahma, or *Paráíman*, the Supreme Soul; that man's soul is identical in origin with the Supreme Soul; and that emancipation, or freedom from transmigration, will be attained so soon as man knows his soul to be one with the Supreme Soul.

It should be noted that all six systems of philosophy regard the Vedas as sacred and authoritative; but the two Mimánsás look upon the Vedas as the absolute Revelation of the will of God.

PART VIII.—THE BUDDHIST PERIOD. THE RISE OF BUDDHISM, ABOUT B.C. 477.

§ 40. Character of the history of the Buddhist Period. § 41. Origin of Buddhism. § 42. Buddhism, a Social and Moral Reform. § 43. Doctrines of Buddhism. § 44. Life of Buddha. § 45. The Buddhist councils and the *Tri-Pitaka*.

§ 40. With the rise of Buddhism, the student enters upon a period whose history is, in many ways, very different from the history which he has hitherto been reading. During the Vaidik period, during the Heroic period, and during the early Bráhmanic period, the history has been solely derived from the accounts of the Hindús themselves; its only materials have been the religious books or the semi-religious Epics of the Hindús, and no dates can be fixed with even a fair *probability*. The early Vaidic religion and its modification under the Bráhmans were confined to the Hindús; these religions, so far from sending out missionaries to convert foreign nations, actually refused (as we have noticed in our accounts of the Sudras, *see* Part VI.) to receive even the conquered tribes of India as converts, except under degrading conditions. Hence the Hindús, during these early ages, were almost entirely isolated. But in the Buddhist period, the state of things was different. Buddhism arose in India; but it soon spread into Ceylon, Thibet, Burmah, Siam, and even into China, Mongolia and Northern Asia. In this way, extended intercourse arose between these countries and India. Pilgrims from many foreign parts visited India as the country of the founder of their faith [*see* § 87]; and from their accounts, and from the sacred books of these foreign countries, much may be learned about India. Above all, early in the Buddhist period, the Greeks invaded India [*see* § 48]; shortly afterwards, Greek ambassadors resided at the Court of an Indian king; and from the date of these events, which are known from Greek history, we can settle the dates of all events immediately connected with them. Hence, for the first time in this history, we are able to put a date at the head of this Part—*viz.*, the date of the death of Buddha, which has thus been shown with very little doubt to be about 477 B. C.

§ 41. We have seen [§ 34] that the contemplative habits of the Bráhmans produced after a time many systems of philosophy, which were also, in a way, systems of religion. All these systems were naturally, in the hands of Bráhmans, founded on the Vedas. But it is probable that these enquiries were not altogether confined to the Bráhmans; the results of the systems were doubtless sometimes communicated to other castes. At any rate, a clever and philanthropic Kshatriya (Buddha) engaged in these half philosophic, half religious speculations, without the aid of the Vedas; he became a devotee and a preacher of his doctrines; and he was the founder of a religion and of a political movement which has had an enormous effect on the history of the whole of Asia.

§ 42. The spread of Buddhism was probably mainly owing to the fact that it was a social reform, and to its pure and simple morality, rather than to the strength of its religious doctrines. The former appealed to the interests and the feelings of the common people; the latter could only be understood by the learned.

Buddhism denied the obligations of caste.* It thereby attempted to deliver the Sudras and the mixed-castes and the out-castes from the oppression to which they had been subjected under the Bráhmanic system [*see* § 28]; and though after the fall of Buddhism many centuries later, the dignity and sanctity of Bráhmans were restored, yet it appears that these pretensions were not accompanied by any revival of the grosser oppression of early times. Here then was a great social reform. Again, its morality was pure and simple. It declared that the only method by which man could elevate himself in the scale of being, and obtain rest from the transmigrations of the soul, was not by the search after truth, as the Sánkhya and other philosophies affirmed —not by penances and animal sacrifices and other ceremonial observances, as some of the Bráhmans had taught—but simply by the practice of the great virtues—truth, purity, honesty, and (above all) *Maitri* or charity and universal benevolence.

* The student may notice that Buddhism was not successful in entirely ›ing away with caste; indeed, it appears to have actually introduced the ıste system into Ceylon.

§ 43. It is not necessary for the young student to trouble himself much about the philosophical doctrines of Buddhism: Broadly its teachings were that there is nothing but sorrow in life; that sorrow is produced by our affections; that our affections must be destroyed, in order to destroy the root of sorrow; and that man may destroy all affections, all passions, all desires, by *contemplation;* whereby ultimately he may obtain NIRVANA, or annihilation. This *Nirvána* was the great aim of Buddhism; and has even been described by some later degenerate Buddhists as a sort of heaven.

§ 44. Sákya Muni, or Gautama, afterwards known as *Buddha*, or the Enlightened, was a Kshatriya. He was the son of the Rájá of Kapilavastu, a kingdom probably situated in Gorakhpur or Nepál, at the foot of the Himálaya mountains, north of Oudh. As a boy, he was beautiful and accomplished. As a youth, he was remarkable for his love of contemplation; but he is represented as also distinguished for his courage and strength. His wife was the beautiful Gopá.

His contemplations impressed him with the shortness and misery of life, and the vanity of earthly happiness. These impressions were confirmed by his observations, whilst he was being driven about his father's city in his chariot, of the misery and death around him contrasted with the calmness and freedom from care displayed by a certain *bhikshu* or begging devotee, whom he met at the gate of the city. He soon left his father's palace, in order to become a devotee. He became the pupil successively of two famous Bráhmans; but could find no happiness or salvation in their teaching. He then betook himself to a hermitage for six years, subjecting himself to severe penances; but he was at length convinced that he could not obtain salvation in this way, and he gave up his penances.

He was now deserted by the five followers who had attended him in the hermitage. Left to himself, he continued to ponder how he might obtain deliverance from the evils of life. At length he arrived at the conclusions which have been described above as the doctrines of Buddhism; and from this moment he claimed the title of Buddha.

He at first went to Benares, where he made many converts. He was then invited to Rájagriha, the capital of Magadha, by the king Bimbisára, who was his friend and disciple for many years. Bimbisára was at length assassinated by his son Ajátasatru; and Buddha had to retire to Srávasti, the capital of Kosala, where the king became a convert. He returned at one time to Kápilavastu, where also he converted all his family the Sákyas. Finally, his great enemy Ajátasatru, king of Magadha, became a disciple; and hospitably entertained the prophet, now an old man of seventy. At last, on his return from a visit to Rájagriha, he halted in a forest near the town of Kusinágara; whilst sitting under a sál-tree he "entered into *Nirváṇa*."

§ 45. The doctrines of Buddha rapidly spread. A Buddhist council, or meeting of the chief followers of the faith, was held shortly after his death. Another council followed it; and a third was held in the seventeenth year of the reign of king Asoka [*see* § 69], when Buddhism had become the State or royal religion of India. About 300 years later, or just after the Christian era, a fourth great Council was held in Kashmir, under a king named Kanishka. It was probably at this last Council that the sacred books, or holy scriptures of the Buddhists were drawn up. They were called the *Tri-Pitaka*, or Three Baskets.

PART IX.—THE INVASIONS OF DARIUS AND ALEXANDER. B.C. 521—B. C. 326.

§ 46. Nature of the History. § 47. Persian Invasion under Darius. § 48. The Greek Invasion under Alexander. § 49. The Battle of the Jhelam. § 50. Advance of Alexander to the Satlej. § 51. His Retreat. § 52. The Voyage of Nearchus.

§ 46. The Persian and Greek invasions and the events that arose out of them form a sort of parenthesis in the Buddhist period, though the Bráhmanical religion was still predominant in India down to the time of Alexander. Our knowledge of these invasions is derived from the Greek historians; and also (for the subsequent events) from coins which have been discovered, bearing the names and some brief accounts of the kings [*see* § 55].

§ 47. Darius Hystaspes (*Darawesh* or *King* Gushtasp was his Persian name) was nearly contemporary with Buddha. In the years 521—518 B.C., he invaded India; crossing the Indus over a bridge of boats constructed by his Greek Admiral Skylax. The latter sailed down the Indus, and returned home either by the Persian Gulf or by the Red Sea. There are no accounts of the details of this invasion; but some of the provinces of India—probably only a few on the banks of the Indus—were made into a Persian *satrapy* (a province governed by a *satrap* or viceroy). It is remarkable, considering that India produces little gold in modern times, that the tribute sent to Darius from his Indian satrapy was in gold; and furnished a large portion of the gold of the royal Persian treasures.

§ 48. Alexander the Great (called in India *Iskander* or *Sikandar*), king of Macedon, at the head of an army of Macedonians and other Greeks, conquered Darius, king of Persia, in the year 331 B.C. He spent four years in subduing some of the other provinces of the Persian empire, and in Balochistán, Kábul, and Túrkistán; and in 327 B.C. he proceeded to invade India. Having established the Greek supremacy in Bactria (the modern Balkh—north of the Hindú Kush Mountains, which run through the northern part of Kábul or Afghánistán and partly divide it from Túrkistán), he then marched through Kábul, and reached the Indus at Attock, in the extreme north of the Panjáb. He crossed the Indus without opposition; and on its eastern bank received the submission of Taxiles, a powerful prince who ruled over the country from the Indus to the Jhelam. The Jhelam was called the Hydaspes by the Greeks. In his passage of this river near Gujarát (the scene of the final great defeat of the Sikhs in 1849, see chapter VIII., § 172), Alexander was opposed by a Rájá, the name of whose race or dynasty was Paurava, called by the Greeks Porus.

§ 49. In the great battle of the Jhelam or Hydaspes that followed, the Indian army was more numerous than the Greek; and had moreover the advantage of two hundred elephants and three hundred war-chariots. The Indians fought bravely, according to the account of the Greeks; but they were unable to

withstand the discipline of Alexander's army. The two sons of Porus were killed, and his army utterly routed. Alexander, pleased with the courage of Porus, treated him kindly. He not only restored him to his kingdom, but also enlarged its extent; and Porus was henceforth a faithful ally of the Greeks.

§ 50. From this point Alexander proceeded eastward, crossing the Acesines and the Hydraotes (the Chenáb and the Rávi, see Introduction, § 4). He pushed on to the Hyphasis (the Satlej), in the hope of being able to march on Palibothra, of whose magnificence as the capital of the powerful realm of the Prasii (doubtless Magadha, *see* § 59) he had heard. His soldiers could not be induced, either by entreaties or threats, to advance beyond the Satlej; and Alexander was compelled unwillingly to return, making the Panjáb the extreme limit of his conquests.

§ 51. His first care was to construct a fleet to convey his troops down the Satlej to the Indus, and thus home. Part of the army embarked, and sailed with great pomp down the Indus; part marched along the banks, until at last he came to a place named Patála, supposed to have been near the mouth of the river. On his road he met with many difficulties and much opposition; especially from the warlike tribe of the Malli (believed to have lived in the neighbourhood of Multán), in fighting against whom he received a severe wound.

§ 52. He was treated in a friendly way by the people in the neighbourhood of Patála; and here he founded a city, in which he left a Greek garrison. He then ordered his Admiral Nearchus to proceed home by sea, whilst he himself, with a part of his army, marched back to his Persian dominions through the wild deserts of Gedrosia (Balochistán). Nearchus sailed from the mouth of the Indus in 326 B.C., and arrived at the mouth of the Euphrates, after a memorable voyage of which Alexander was justly proud. The great conqueror fully meant to return to complete the subjugation of India; but he died shortly afterwards, at Babylon, in the year 323 B.C.

PART X.—THE BACTRIAN AND SCYTHIAN DYNASTIES, B.C. 312—26.

§ 53. Invasion of Seleucus. § 54. Foundation of the Greek kingdom of Bactria. § 55. Coins the chief materials of the history. § 56. War with Antiochus the Great. § 57. The *Sotér*, *Niké*, and *Sák* dynasties. § 58. The Scythian dynasty.

§ 53. The kingdoms grouped under the name of Syria, including the province of Bactria [*see* § 48], and a claim to Alexander's Indian conquests fell to the lot of Seleucus, one of the best of the Macedonian Generals. Sandracotus was now king of the Prasii, according to the Greek accounts, having taken Palibothra from the former king [*see* § 50]. This king was, doubtless, the Hindú Rájá Chandragupta, who had seized the kingdom of Magadha, after the massacre of the survivors of the Nandá dynasty; and whose capital was Pátaliputra [*see* § 68]. Seleucus marched against Chandragupta as far as the Ganges. Whether a battle was fought or not appears to be uncertain; but a treaty was made. Seleucus gave the king of Magadha his daughter in marriage, and gave up to him the provinces east of the Indus in return for a tribute of fifty elephants. Megasthenes was appointed the Greek ambassador at the court of Magadha; and has given full accounts of the Indians of that period [*see* § 59]. The identity of Sandracotus and Chandragupta has been proved beyond a reasonable doubt; and the young student should remember that it is this identification which has afforded us the connecting link between the accounts of the Hindús and those of the Greeks, and which has consequently enabled us to form a chronology of this period of Indian history.

§ 54. In the reign of Antiochus Sotér, who succeeded his father Seleucus in the Syrian monarchy, Theodotus, the Governor of Bactria, rebelled; and notwithstanding the fact that Chandragupta aided Antiochus in return for the cession of some more territory on the Indus, the rebel succeeded (probably in the reign of Antiochus II.) in asserting his independence. He became (about B.C. 250) the founder of the Greek empire of Bactria which at this time included those portions of Túrkistán Afghánistán and Balochistán which had remained in the possessio of the Greeks.

§ 55. The accounts of the Bactrian dynasties, handed down to us by the Greek historians, were very slight, and did not indicate that they had very much influence in India; but the historical discoveries that have been made in the investigation of numerous coins found mainly in the Pánjab and Afghánistán, show that these dynasties were always intimately connected with India. A few of the earlier coins bear the emblems of Alexander's immediate successors, and the inscriptions on them are in Greek; but the later coins bear double inscriptions—one in Greek, the other in a degenerate form of Sanskrit, or in some other oriental language—and the emblems are the elephant, or the humped cow of India. The inscriptions on the coins, their distribution, and other facts discovered about them, have largely increased our knowledge of those obscure dynasties which for centuries maintained a connexion between the Hindú and the Grecian worlds.

§ 56. Theodotus II., the son of the founder of the first Bactrian dynasty, was deposed by another Greek named Euthydemus. Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, invaded Bactria, and reduced Euthydemus to submission (B.C. 214); but finally confirmed him in his kingdom. Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, was the fourth king. He made extensive conquests in Persia, and also on the Gujarát coast of India; but was finally dispossessed, first of Bactria Proper, and afterwards of his Indian dominions, by Eukratidas.

§ 57. In the time of Eukratidas, the Bactrian power was at its height. He was the first of the *Sotér* dynasty—so called from that title being given to them on the coins. The Parthians from the west, and the Saka-Scythians from the remote regions of Northern Transoxiana, began to press on the empire; and in the reign of the next king, Eukratidas II., the Saka-Scythians took possession of the whole of Bactria Proper. This happened about the year 126 B.C.; and from this period the Sotér dynasty was confined to its Indian possessions, including Sind, part of the North-West Provinces, the Panjáb and Afghánistán; Menander was the most successful and powerful monarch of this dynasty.

In the latter part of the rule of the Sotérs, another Greek dynasty, called the Niké dynasty, became established in a portion of these dominions.

A third dynasty, the Sáh, ruled in Gujarát for many centuries. They appear to have been at first dependent on the Bactrian dynasty, of which they were probably Hindú (some say Parthian) vassals. They were probably at first Buddhists. A celebrated cave-temple between Púna and Bombay was erected by Náhápána the founder of this dynasty, in combination with Rájá Devábhuti of the Sangá dynasty [*see* § 72]. The Sáhs were conquered by the Vallabhi dynasty, called Gupta, about 318 A.D. [*see* § 83]. It is believed by some that the Sáhs were the same as the Yue-Chi dynasty, mentioned in § 82.

§ 58. Whilst the Sáh dynasty was flourishing in Gujarát, the Saka-Scythians had established a kingdom somewhere in western India; they were overthrown by Vikramáditya [*see* § 81] about 78 B.C. Later in the same century Vikramáditya is said to have been defeated by the Yue-Che; who are thought to have finally subverted the Bactrian kingdom in India, shortly before the Christian era, about the year 26 B.C.

PART XI.—GREEK ACCOUNTS OF INDIA.

§ 59. Palibothra. § 60. Divisions of India. § 61. The Caste System. § 62. Hermits. § 63. Prosperous Administration. § 64. Learning and the Arts. § 65. General remarks.

§ 59. Greek historians have preserved for us accounts of India and the Indians, as they appeared to them at the time of Alexander's invasion and during the reign of Seleucus—*i.e.*, about the years B.C. 327—312. Of these accounts the most important was that of Megasthenes, ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta at Magadha [*see* § 53]: which account has been preserved in parts, in the works of Aryan, a writer of the 2nd century, A.D. Megasthenes called the people of Magadha, the *Prasii*; and their capital, Pátaliputra, he called *Palibothra*. This city, according to his account, was situated at the confluence of the Erannoboas and the Ganges: and was of immense size, surrounded by high walls, with five hundred and seventy towers and sixty-four gates. Pátaliputra has been identified by some with Patna, by others with Allahábád.

§ 60. The power of Sandracottus (Chandragupta) is represented as having been very extensive; yet there were no less than one hundred and eighteen independent States in various parts of India.

§ 61. The Greeks give us an account of the division of the Hindús into castes; and state that the members of a caste were not allowed to marry into any other caste. They make an error in the enumeration of the castes, which they describe as follows:—(1) Sophists, or Brachmanes (Bráhmans); (2) the Revenue Officers; (3) the Ministers of State; (4) Soldiers (Kshatriyas); (4) Husbandmen (Vaisyas); (6) Artificers and Tradesmen (the mixed castes of Manu); and (7) Shepherds living on hills and hunting game. Of these seven, the first three classes were probably all Bráhmans; the seventh probably referred to the remains of the aboriginal tribes; the hillmen of the present day [*see* Introduction, § 24]; and the Sudras are omitted altogether. With regard to the Sudras, it is highly worthy of note that they had probably by this time ceased to be treated harshly as slaves; for the Greeks are unanimous in saying that slavery did not exist in India.

§ 62. The severity of the asceticism practised by the hermits of India struck the Greeks with astonishment. These hermits were probably sometimes Bráhmans in the third stage of their life (*Vanaprastha*), and sometimes members of the established monastic orders. One of these hermits, named Calanus, was persuaded by Alexander to accompany him in his return from India; but falling sick in Persia, he refused to take the Persian remedies, and ascended the funeral pile, to the surprise and admiration of the Greeks.

§ 63. The presents made by the Indian princes indicate wealth; and the whole country appears to have been in a prosperous state. There were numerous commercial cities and ports for foreign trade. The police was excellent; and both life and property were fairly safe. Justice was administered by the ing and his ministers. The village system [*see* § 30] was noiced by the Greeks, who regarded these communities as Republics.

§ 64. The Indians were described as learned; and their ystem of philosophy was already fully developed. Architecture

and music seem to have been neglected; but the arts of life seem to have been generally much in the state in which they are at present. The magnificence of Indian festivals, the fineness and whiteness of their clothes (which consisted of the *dhoti* and the *chadder*, as now in Bengal), the brilliancy of their dyes, were all noticed; and the mode of agriculture practised, and the crops grown, were exactly the same as at the present day.

§ 65. The most striking points about the Greek accounts are:—(1) their general agreement with the accounts in Manu; (2) the little change that has since occurred during two thousand years; (3) the favourable impression which the manners and condition of the Hindús made on the Greeks. The men are described as braver than any Asiatics whom the Greeks had yet met, and singularly truthful. They are said to be sober, temperate, and peaceable; remarkable for simplicity and integrity; honest, and averse to litigation. The practice of widows becoming *Satí* had already been introduced, but probably only partially; for it is spoken of by Aristobulus as one of the extraordinary local peculiarities which he heard of at Taxila.

PART XII.—THE BUDDHIST PERIOD CONTINUED. THE MAURYAN DYNASTY OF MAGADHA AND THEIR SUCCESSORS, B.C. 477—81.

§ 66. The early kings of Magadha. § 67. The Nanda Dynasty. § 68. Chandragupta, founder of the Mauryan Dynasty. § 69. Asoka. § 70. The Edicts of Asoka. § 71. The later Mauryan Kings. § 72. The Sunga Dynasty. § 73. The Kanwa Dynasty, and the Decline of Buddhism. § 74. The Kingdoms of Mithiá, Gaur, and Kanaúj.

§ 66. In the Mahábhárata, mention was made of Saha-deva, king of Magadha. A long line of kings, of various dynasties more or less mythical, is said to have succeeded him. The thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth kings in this line were Bimbisára and Ajátasatru, the contemporaries of Buddha, about 500 B.C. to 477 B.C.

§ 67. The sixth king from Ajátasatru was called Nanda; and he founded a Sudra dynasty, of which nine successive kings, all called Nanda, reigned in succession. One of these Nandas

was reigning at Pátaliputra at the time of Alexander's invasion; and the fame of his power and riches attracted the envy of Alexander [*see* § 50]. He is called Nanda the Rich.

§ 68. In the disorganisation that succeeded the retreat of Alexander from the Pánjab, a man of low birth named CHANDRAGUPTA, said by some to have been the illegitimate son of Nanda, made himself master of that province. Soon afterwards, aided by a Bráhman intrigue against the Sudra king Nanda, he succeeded in mastering the great kingdom of Magadha; and became the founder of the Mauryan dynasty, which was the first that acquired, in Indian history, a decided pre-eminence over all the other principalities of the country. During the reign of Chandragupta, the Páli language (the form of Sanskrit at that time spoken in Magadha) began to be cultivated; it ultimately became the chief sacred language of the Buddhists. The invasion of Seleucus, and the embassy of Megasthenes, have already been noticed [§§ 53, 59.] At the time when Megasthenes was at Pátaliputra, there were many independent kings in India; but gradually during the long and prosperous reigns of Chandragupta (twenty-four years, from B.C. 315 to B.C. 291) and his son and successor Bindusára (twenty-eight years from B.C. 291 to B.C. 263), most of the princes of Northern India seem to have been reduced to submission.

§ 69. ASOKA, the son of Bindusára, succeeded about the year 263 B.C., and reigned for about forty years, until the year 223 B.C. He assumed the name of *Piyadasi*, or *Priyadasin*. His reign is the most important and the most clearly identified epoch in early Indian history, for the following reasons; *first*, during this reign Buddhism became the State religion, having been proclaimed as such at a great Buddhist Council (the third since the time of Buddha) held under the patronage of Asoka in the seventeenth year of his reign [*see* § 45]. *Secondly*, Asoka undoubtedly largely extended the conquests of his father Bindusára and his grandfather Chandragupta; his edicts that have been found (of which we shall speak presently) prove that his kingdom extended from the valley of Pesháwar and the Kábul river and Cashmir, to Súrat on the west of India, and to Bengal, Orissa, and Telingánah on the east.

§ 70. *Thirdly*, the history of the reign of Asoka is far more authentic and clearly ascertained than any of the preceding history. All the literature of Buddhism speaks of this reign in some detail; but what is far more important, numerous inscriptions made by the order of Asoka, and commonly called his EDICTS, have been discovered in various parts of India. These inscriptions furnish the first safe standing-ground for the history of Buddhism, almost the first for the history of India; as they are absolutely contemporaneous and undoubtedly authentic records. They relate to many and various matters; being frequently political and religious manifestoes and statements of Asoka's policy and principles of government, *e.g.*, the constitution of civil and criminal Courts, and the abolition of capital punishments. The most celebrated of them are (1) at Girnar, in Káthiawár; (2) at Kapurdigiri, near Peshawar at the north of the Panjáb; (3) at Dhauli, in Orissa; and (4) on *Láthe* or pillars at Delhi and Allahábád. These are all in the Páli language.

§ 71. Seven Buddhist kings of the Mauryan dynasty reigned, successively after Asoka down to the year 195 B.C. Under them Magadha rose to great eminence; splendid roads ran across the country from Pátaliputra to the Indus, and to Gujarát.

§ 72. The Mauryan dynasty appears to have been succeeded by the Sangá Rájás. The first prince of the Sangá family, Puspamitra, built one of the great Buddhist topes at Sanchi in B.C. 188. This dynasty has left many similar memorials in various parts of India. It appears to have expired with Rájá Devábhuti about the year 86 B.C.

§ 73. Four Buddhist kings of the Kanwá dynasty probably succeeded the Sangá; and reigned till about the year 31 B.C. But long before this, numerous other rival powers had sprung up in various parts of India; and the power of Buddhism was now on the decline.

§ 74. Of the rival powers referred to in the last section, some were the remains of the old Hindú kingdoms, whose dynasties claimed to date from the heroic times of the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana. Amongst these, the student should remember th kingdom of Mithilá, or Benares, of whose princely house Sítá, th

wife of Ráma, was a daughter [*see* § 14]; the kingdom of Ganr, in Bengal, of which we shall hear more presently; and the kingdom of Kanaúj, in Oudh (called in heroic times Panchála) whose kings remained devoted to Bráhmanism throughout the centuries of the Buddhist rule in India, and who protected the Bráhmans when they were proscribed elsewhere [*see* § 83].

PART XIII.—THE DECLINE OF BUDDHISM, AND THE BRAHMANIC REVIVAL.

FROM ABOUT 200 B C. TO ABOUT 1200 A.D.

§ 75. The decline of Buddhism. § 76. The Jainas. § 77. Materials for the history of this period. § 78. The Puránas. § 79. The Agnikulas. § 80. The Andhra Dynasty. § 81. Vikramáditya. § 82. The Yue-Chi Dynasty. § 83. The Gupta Dynasty of Vallabhi, the Rahtors, the Chauras, and the Salonkhyas. § 84. The Andhra Dynasty *continued*, and Rájá Bhoja. § 85. The Pál and Sen Dynasties in Bengal. § 86. Late Buddhist Dynasties. § 87. The Chinese Buddhists Pilgrims. § 88. Fahian. § 89. Hiouen Thsang. § 90. Review of the state of Hindústán before the Muhammadan invasions.

§ 75. Buddhism, although it had become the paramount religion and the faith of most of the princes of India, had never extirpated Bráhmanism; indeed it is doubtful whether the majority of the people ever became Buddhists. After the extinction of the powerful Mauryan dynasty, Bráhmanism began again to revive; and from this period (about 200 B.C.) some of the kingdoms of India were Buddhists, others Bráhmanical. The Bráhmanical kingdoms, few at first, gradually became more numerous and powerful.

§ 76. The Jaina religion was midway, in point of doctrines, between Buddhism and Bráhmanism. The Jainas retained the caste system, and acknowledged the gods of Bráhmanism; but they regarded certain saints, called *Tirthankaras*, as superior to the gods. Like the Buddhists, the Jainas denied the authority of the Vedas, and were extraordinarily careful not to destroy life. The last and chief *Tirthankaras* were Mahávira and Parsvanáth.

The system did not originate until about 600 A.D.; reached its greatest height about 1000 A.D.; and declined after 1200 A.D. It chiefly prevailed in the south of India and in Gujarát. Jainas abound still in Gujarát and in Canara. They have always been a learned and a successful commercial people. Támil literature owes to them its finest compositions; Jaina authors were the real refiners of that exquisite language. Many of the bankers in Gujarát and in other parts of India (especially at Murshidábád in Bengal) have usually been Jainas. They have a holy mountain in the district of Hazáribágh in Bengal, called Parsvanáth; where their greatest *Tirthankara* obtained *absorption*, or eternal rest—*i.e.*, died.

§ 77. The sources of the history of the very obscure period of the revival of Bráhmanism are: (1) the semi-mythological accounts of the *Puránas* or later religious books of the Bráhmans [*see* § 78]; (2) the inscriptions and coins that have been discovered in various parts of India (the earlier inscriptions being those of Buddhist monarchs); (3) the accounts of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India, whose descriptions have been translated from Chinese into the European languages [*see* § 87].

§ 78. The *Puránas* are so called, because they profess to teach that which is "old"—the old faith of the Hindús. They are generally supposed to date only from 800 A.D, many of them being of much later date. But they give a view of the religion of the Revival of Bráhmanism; and are mainly devoted to an interpretation of the beliefs of the various sects of worshippers of Vishnu, Siva, &c. Besides this, they are storehouses of mythological and legendary stories; they contain not only genealogies and lives of gods, but also genealogies of kings and heroes; and from some of the latter, gleams of historical truth may be derived.

The Puránas are eighteen in number. Though teaching a veneration for the Vedas, the religion is quite different from the Vaidik, and also from that of the Darsanas [*see* § 36]. It represents the popular Brahmanical religion of India. Three gods, Bráhma the Creator, Siva the Destroyer, and Vishnu the Preserver, are recognised; though the worship of Bráhma is neglected.

Deified heroes, such as Ráma and Krishna, are worshipped as incarnations, or *avatárs* of Vishnu; and there are also an infinite number of lesser gods.

§ 79. The Bráhmans secured popular interest and sympathy by an extensive and exciting ceremonial. They secured the allegiance of the young by encouraging learning and establishing schools and colleges. They had preserved the sacred hymns and commentaries, by consigning them to the care of authorised and responsible families; and they increased the influence which they possessed in this way, by inserting interpolations, in the sacred books, and more especially in the two great Epics, favouring their pretensions. In these and other ways they gradually recovered their lost supremacy in India; but the process is represented in the Puránas to have been effected by a single miraculous event, as follows:—

When the holy Rishis, or sages, who dwelt on Mount Abú, complained that the Vedas were trampled under foot, and that the land was in the possession of Rakshasas (or Buddhists), they were ordered by Brahma to re-create the race of Kshatriyas who had been extirpated by Parasu Ráma [*see* § 7]. This was effected by purifying the "fountain of fire" with water from the Ganges; when there sprang from the fountain four warriors called the *Agnikulas*, or generation of fire; who, amidst many marvels, cleared the land of the Rákshasas. Many of the modern Rájpúts claim descent from these Agnikulas, who thus propagated Bráhmanism.

§ 80. The great Andhra dynasty, which reigned at Pátaliputra and Rájagriha in Magadha, at Ujjain in Málwah, and at Warangal and other places in the Deccan [*see* § 100], was the leading dynasty of this period. It flourished from B.C. 57 to A.D. 436; and even long after the latter date it is heard of as opposing the Muhammadans in the Deccan.

§ 81. The most famous prince of this dynasty was VIKRAMADITYA, king of Ujjain in Málwah; who is said to have sprung from the Pramáras or Puars, the chief race of the Agnikulas (*see* § 79.) Innumerable legends are told about this king, who undoubtedly ruled a prosperous and civilised country, and was a great patron of literature. He is believed to have subverted the Saka-Scythian

kingdom in Western India [*see* § 58]. The era of Vikramáditya, 57 B.C., is still very widely current in Hindústán.

§ 82. Either Vikramáditya, or one of his immediate successors in Ujjain, is believed to have been defeated by the Yue-Chi, a tribe of Tatárs probably allied to the Huns, who established a kingdom which lasted for some centuries in Western India, side by side with the Andhras and many other native dynasties. We know very little of the Yue-Chis except from their coins, which form a sort of continuation of the Saka-Scythian series of coins [*see* § 58]. Under the name of Katurman, this dynasty seems to have held Kábul until shortly before the Muhammadan invasion [*see* § 90].

§ 83. A Hindu dynasty professing Bráhmanism, and bearing the name of Gupta, seems to have been established at Kanaúj [*see* § 74], about the second century A.D. This dynasty, in 318 A.D., conquered the Sáh king of Saurashtra and Gujarát [*see* § 57], and established a second capital at Vallabhi in Háthiswár; whence they are commonly called the Vallabhi dynasty.

In Kanaúj, the Ráhtor Rájpúts obtained power in A.D. 470. They appear to have been driven out by another Rájpút dynasty (which latter lasted until the Muhammadan conquest in A.D. 1193) in the eleventh century; when they emigrated to Márwár in Rájpútána, and founded the dynasty of Jodhpur, which is still in existence.

Six of the monarchs of the Gujarát Vallabhi series at various times bore the title of Mahárájá Adhiráj, or Lord Paramount of India. They seem to have ruled over a large part both of Hindústán and the Deccan; and Samudra Gupta, the second king after the conquest of Gujarát, also possessed Sinhala, or Ceylon. Toramana was the last king of this line in Gujarát about the year 498 A.D.; but the dynasty was continued in Malwár, where it is in existence at the present day [*see* Chap. II., § 93]. They appear to have been driven out of Gujarát by an army of Sassanian Persians, probably under the command of Naushirván, who was king of Persia from A.D. 521 to A.D. 579.

A Rájpút tribe, named the Chauras, succeeded the Vallabhi princes in Gujarát, from A.D. 746 to 931. Their capital was

Anhalwâra, now Patan. In 931, a branch of the Salonkhya or Chalukya family of Kalián [*see* § 96], succeeded by marriage. One of the princes of this family conquered Málwah [*see* § 84]: they were finally subdued by Alá-ud-dín Khiljí in A.D. 1297.

§ 84. Whilst the Sáhs and the Yue-Chis, followed by the Vallabhi Guptas, were reigning in Western India, the latter also reigning at Kanaúj and elsewhere, the Andhra dynasty continued powerful in Málwah and in Magadha. An Andhra king, who was reigning about A.D. 15, named Satakarni I, possessed the Deccan; for an authentic inscription proves that he was deprived of it by a Sáh monarch.

The famous Rájá Bhoja reigned in Ujjain during the latter part of the eleventh century. The grandson of Bhoja was conquered by a Salonkhya prince of Gujarát; but Málwah recovered its independence, and was finally subdued by the Muhammadans in A.D. 1231.

§ 85. It is said that, from the times of the Mahábhárata, to the period of the Muhammadan invasion in A.D. 1203, four dynasties of kings reigned in Bengal. Of these, the last but one was a series of princes whose name was Pál, who reigned from the ninth to the latter part of the eleventh century. They are thought to have been Buddhists. Of one Rájá of this family, Deva Pál Deva, who probably lived in the ninth century, it is stated that he reigned over the whole of India, and that he had even conquered Thibet. This statement probably simply means that this Rája was acknowledged as Mahárájá Adhiráj [*see* § 90]. The capital of the dynasty was at Gaur; it was afterwards transferred to Nuddea (Nadiyá).

The Pál dynasty was succeeded by another line of kings called Sena.

About 900 A.D., a king belonging to this family reigned in Bengal named Adisur, who invited five Bráhmans from Kanaúj to settle in Bengal. The Bráhmans came each attended by a Káyastha. These are said to be the ancestors of the five high classes of Bráhmans and Káyasthas in Bengal.

One of the Sena kings, named Ballála Sena, settled the precedence of the descendants of the five Kanaújya Bráhmans. The

last was Lakshmana Sena, driven out from Nadiyá by Bakhtíár Khiljí [*see* Chap. II., § 82].

§ 86. During the whole of the period treated of thus far in this part, Buddhism, though declining, was still powerful. It was chased from the Deccan by the exertions of the Bráhman reformer Sankara Achárya in the eighth or ninth century; it had probably been repressed there at an earlier date by Kumárila. But there were Buddhist kings in Northern India until the tenth century; Buddhism was the prevailing religion at Benares until the eleventh century, and in Gujarát until the twelfth century.

It has been noticed that some of the earlier kings of the Pál dynasty in Bengal were Buddhists, about A.D. 900 [*see* § 85]. Before this, two powerful Buddhist dynasties, the Gonardhá and the Aditya, had ruled in Kashmír from a little before the Christian era down to about 622 A.D. Some of the kings of these dynasties made extensive conquests throughout India; magnificent temples, at Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa and elsewhere, remain to the present day as memorials of their religious zeal and their power.

§ 87. Both the extent of the power of Buddhism and the progress of its decline are very clearly exhibited in the accounts of some Chinese travellers who traversed India on pilgrimage at various periods from the fourth to the tenth century A.D. These accounts have been carefully preserved in China; and have recently been translated into English and French.

§ 88. The first pilgrim whose account is of importance is Fa-hian, who travelled in Central Asia and India from A.D. 399 to A.D. 414. He devoted his attention mainly to the shrines and other objects of Buddhist interest. He described his route from Taxila in the Punjáb [*see* § 48] through Kanaúj to Magadha, with its capital Pátaliputra. He also visited Rájagriha, Gaya, Benares; thence down the Ganges to Támraliptí, or Tamluk. From Tamluk he embarked for Ceylon. On his return to China he visited Java, which he found devoted to Bráhmanism.

§ 89. A far more important account is that of Hiouen Thsang, who travelled between 629 A.D. and 645 A.D. He describes accurately and carefully the condition of nearly every State in India. Thus, he found Taxila was now a province of Kashmír; and in

Kashmír itself a powerful Bráhmanical dynasty, named Kritiya, had succeeded the Gonardhás mentioned in § 86. He found Kanaúj, a large city more than sixteen miles in length, ruled over by a powerful king named Siladitya, who favoured Buddhism. Siladítya had, according to Hiouen Thsang, defeated every prince in India, except the Rájá of Mahárashtra (the Mahratta country). Prayág was entirely in the hands of the Bráhmans; but in the great realm of Magadha, Buddhism was still flourishing, though Pátaliputra was now in ruins. Tamluk was a port of immense trade and riches. Thence he travelled through Orissa, where was a great seaport named Charitra, to the Deccan. He visited Chola and Drávada (with its capital Kánchípuram, or Conjeveram); but was dissuaded from going on to Ceylon because of the civil wars in that island. His accounts of Mahárashtra and Málwah are very full. Málwah was at this period, next to Kanaúj, the most powerful State in India; a king, named Siladitya, had reigned some sixty years before the visit of Hiouen Thsang, and had greatly favoured Buddhism during his long reign of fifty years. Vallabhi was also under the dominion of a powerful Buddhist king, nearly related to the kings of Kanaúj and Málwah; but Ujjain had a king devoted to Bráhmanism.

Hiouen Thsang also gives interesting accounts of the manners and customs and the learning of the country. He was much struck by the careful observance of caste distinctions, of which he gives a full account. Like the Greek writers [*see* § 65], he was generally favourably impressed by the good character and prosperous condition of the Indians.

§ 90. The student may well close his study of the history of this obscure period by observing the general state of Hindústán during the centuries immediately preceding the invasions of Mahmúd of Ghazní [*see* Chap. II., § 10] There appear to have been six powerful kingdoms; and to one or other of these the numerous petty princes of Northern India paid homage. Sometimes one of these kingdoms became much more powerful than any of the others; and then its king was called Mahárájá Adhiráj, or Lord Paramount.

First. The Bráhmanical dynasty of the Panjáb. This was first located at Kábul, where it succeeded a Túrkí (Buddhist) dynasty, called the Katurmáns [*see* § 82]. It was afterwards settled at Láhor. Several of its later kings were successively defeated by Mahmúd of Ghazní [*see* Chap. II., § 10]; and it became extinct on the death of Bhimapála. It is chiefly known from its coins, which bear on one side the image of a bull, and on the other that of a horseman; hence it is sometimes called the Bull and Horseman dynasty.

Secondly. The Rájpút State of Delhí, at length united with that of Ajmír, under two dynasties, called the Tuars of Ajmír and the Chohán's of Delhi. The last king of the latter race was the heroic Prithvi Rájá [*see* Chap. II., § 19]. It claimed supremacy over all the countries from the Ganges to the Indus, embracing the lands watered by the arms of the Ganges from the Himálaya Mountains to the Arávalí Hills.

Thirdly. The Rájpút State of Kanaúj, under the Ráhtors and another unknown dynasty [*see* § 83]. The power of Kanaúj extended also from the Himálayas to the Arávalí Hills, and from the Ganges on the west to Benares on the east.

Fourthly. The Rájpút State of Maiwár, under the Gehlot dynasty. *Maiwár* is contracted from Madya-wár, and means the "central region;" its power extended from the Arávali Hills on the north to the Vindhyas on the south [*see* Chap. II., § 93.]

Fifthly. The Rájpút State of Anhalwára, or Patan, under the Chauras and Salonkhyas [*see* § 83]. Their power extended over Gujarát and a part of Sind, from the ocean on the south to the Great Indian Desert on the north, and from the Indus on the west to Maiwár on the east.

Sixthly. The Pál and Sen dynasties of Bengal [*see* § 85.]

PART XIV.—EARLY HISTORY OF THE DECCAN.

§ 91. Agastya. § 92. The Pándya Dynasty of Madúra. § 93. The Chola Dynasty of Tanjor. § 94. The Chera and Ballála Dynasties of Malabar. § 95. Sáliváhana. § 96. The Chalukya Dynasty of Kalián. § 97. The Kála Bhuriya Dynasty, and the rise of the Lingáyet sect. § 98. Sankara Achárya. § 99. The Yádava Dynasty of Deogarh. § 100. The Andhra Dynasty of Warangal. § 101. Early history of Orissa.

§ 91. Hindú tradition mentions the sage Agastya as the benefactor who introduced science and literature from the north into the Deccan. His date has been conjectured to be in the sixth or seventh century B.C. To him is attributed the foundation of Támil grammar and medicine. But the civilisation of the Dravidian country [*see* Introduction, § 23] undoubtedly goes back to a much earlier period; and, without believing fully the accounts given in the Rámáyana of the civilisation of the continental subjects of king Rávana of Ceylon, its origin may be dated as far back as the tenth century B.C.

§ 92. From a very early period two prosperous kingdoms existed in the extreme south of India. Of these, the Pándya dynasty was probably founded in the fifth century B.C. The founder was Pándya, a man of the agricultural class who came from Ayodhya or Oudh. Many traditions exist about these kings; some of them were distinguished Támil authors; one ("king Pandion") sent an embassy to Rome in the time of the Emperor Augustus. Their capital was at Madura. The last of the Pándyas was Kuna Pándya, who lived about the eleventh century A.D.

§ 93. The other powerful kingdom in the south was the Chola kingdom, whose capital was at first at Kánchípuram (Conjeveram). Its founder was Tayaman Nále, who came from Hindústán. Between the years B.C. 350 and A.D. 214, the Chola dynasty was united with the Pándya, but the former again became independent. Their capital was now moved to Tanjor, where they appear to have flourished till the fourteenth century A.D. The Chola kingdom in later times was subject to Vijayanagar (Bíjánagar); and at length was merged in the Mahratta kingdom of Tanjor.

§ 94. Besides these Pándya and Chola dynasties, there were many others of note, with which we are mainly acquainted through

their inscriptions. Of these the most important was the Chera dynasty, which ruled in Travancor, Malabár, and Western Mysor. It existed from the first to the tenth century A.D.

In the ninth century the southern part of the kingdom broke up into a number of small principalities, one of which (Calicut) was ruled by the Zamorins in A.D. 1497, when Vasco da Gama landed there [*see* Chap. VI, § 3]. They continued to rule there till the invasion of Haidar Alí in 1766.

In the northern part of their dominions, the Chera dynasty were succeeded by a powerful Rájpút race called the Ballálas. Their capital was at Dwára Samudra in North Mysor. They were at first Jainas in religion; but one of their kings, Vishnu Verdhána, was converted, in 1133, by Ramanuja, a famous Bráhman. This dynasty was subverted by the Muhammadans about A.D. 1310.

§ 95. The era of Sálivéhana is still in use in the Deccan; its date is 77 A.D. He is said to have been the son of a potter and to have ruled at Patan on the Godávari. He was the saviour and protector of the Bráhmans, who suffered persecution at this time from the Buddhists.

§ 96. A powerful family of Rájpúts, said to be descended from the Pándavas of the Mahábhárata, and called Chalukya, reigned from an early date at Kalián in the western part of what is now called the Nizam's territory [*see* Introduction, § 12]. Said to have come from Oudh, they appear to have established their power in the Deccan about A.D. 250. During the fourth and fifth centuries, their power was very great, extending over the Pándyas and Cholas in the south, and the Andhras [*see* § 100] in the east. At least four or five kings of this race possessed the title Mahárájá Adhiráj about this period.

§ 97. The Chalukya dynasty became extinct in the year 1182; and were succeeded by a short-lived dynasty called the Kálá Bhuriyá, whose tenure of power was chiefly remarkable for the rise of the Lingayet sect, or worshippers of the Phallic emblem of Siva. A Bráhman named Basáppá was the preacher of this faith, which was disliked both by the Jainas (who had been favoured by the Chalukya kings) and by the orthodox Bráhmans. Basáppá managed to subvert the power of Vijala, the last monarch of the Kálá

Bhuriyá dynasty; but his own power did not last long. The worship of the Lingá is still prevalent in Southern and South-Western India.

§ 98. The Bráhmanical mission of Sankara Achárya to the Deccan in the eighth or ninth century has already been mentioned [*see* § 86.] He seems to have succeeded in largely destroying the popularity of Buddhism and Jainism in the south of India.

§ 99. A Rájpút dynasty named the Yádavas ruled in the eastern portion of Telingánah from the ninth to the end of the twelfth century. Their capital was Deogarh (the modern Daulatábád). They were very powerful during the twelfth century, and conquered the extensive kingdom of Kalián [*see* § 97] on the death of Vijala Kálá Bhuriyá.

§ 100. The most important ancient dynasty in the eastern part of the Deccan was that of the kings of Andhra or Telingánah, whose capital was Warangal (about eighty miles east of Haidarábád). They probably belonged to the great Andhra family of Magadha [*see* § 84], and gave their name to the southern kingdom which they conquered. In A.D. 1323, Warangal was taken by the Muhammadans [*see* Chapter IV, § 5], but it soon regained its independence, and became the capital of the Rájás of Telingánah. They were at perpetual war with the Bahmani kings, until Warangal was destroyed by Ahmad Sháh in A.D. 1435.

§ 101. Orissa, the eastern border land between Hindústán and the Deccan, was ruled by a dynasty named Kesari from an early period till about A.D. 1131. The Gajapati race, supposed to be connected with the great Andhras, ruled in Katak (Cuttack) till A.D. 1568. A very powerful dynasty called Ganga Vansa, from the neighbourhood of Tamluk or Medinipur (or Midnapur), is also mentioned as making extensive conquests in Southern India.

PART XV.—SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

§ 102. Divisions of Sanskrit Literature. § 103. RELIGIOUS LITERATURE. § 104. Chronological divisions of Religious Literature. § 105. The Vedas. § 106. The Dharma-Sástras. § 107. PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE. § 108. MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE. § 109. Epic Poetry. § 110. Dramatic Poetry. § 111. Lyric Poetry. § 112. Fables and Ethical works.

§ 102. Those portions of Sanskrit literature which bear more or less directly on the early Hindú history, have already been referred to in these pages. It will be well, however, for the young student to endeavour to obtain a general and connected view of the history of the chief works that have been written in that highly cultivated and most beautiful language.

Sanskrit literature has been classed in three divisions :—

(1) RELIGIOUS LITERATURE; (2) PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE; (3) POETICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

§ 103. The Religious literature of the Hindús is commonly divided by them into *Sruti* or Revelation, and *Smriti* or Tradition. Under the former head are comprised the *Sanhitás* and *Bráhmanas* of the Vedas; whilst the latter includes the numerous writings, considered to be supplementary to the Vedas, grouped under the name of the *Dharma-Sástras.*

§ 104. Another division of the Religious Literature, in chronological order according to the time of composition or compilation, has been made by European scholars. This division is into four periods :—(1) the *Chhandas* period, from about 1200 B.C. to 1000 B.C., when a few of the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda *Sanhitá* were probably composed; (2) the *Mantra* period, from 1000 B.C. to 800 B.C., the supposed date of the composition of most of the Rig-Veda *Sanhitá;* (3) the *Bráhmana* period, from 800 B.C. to 600 B.C., when the Bráhmanas were mostly composed; (4) the *Sútra* period, from 600 B.C. to 200 B.C., during which the Vedángas, Anukrumanis, &c., were composed. A connecting link between the *Bráhmana* and *Sútra* periods is said to be furnished by the *Aranyakas,* including most of the *Upanishads.*

§ 105. The Vedas have already been described in § 2. Of the Vedas, only the Rig-Veda *Sanhitá* belongs to the time previous to the *Bráhmana* period. The other two *Sanhitás* (*viz.*, of the Yajur-Veda and the Sámá-Veda) were in truth, what they have been called "the attendants of the Rig-Veda."

The difference between the two component parts of each Veda—*i.e.*, between the *Mantra* or *Sanhitá* and the *Bráhmana* of each Veda—has been explained above in § 2.

§ 106. The DHARMA-SASTRAS, included under the general name of Smriti, belong partly to the Bráhmana and partly to the Sútra period of Sanskrit literature. They consist of—

(1.) The VEDANTA, by Vyása, or Jaimini. This ancient Sanskrit work is generally included under the six Darsanas or systems of Philosophy [*see* § 39.]

(2.) The four UPA-VEDAS. Of these the first, called *Ayus*, treats of the science of medicine. The second called *Gandharva*, treats of music; and was composed by Bharata. The third, called *Dhanus*, on the fabrication and use of arms and implements used by the Kshatriya caste, was said to have been written by the Rishi Visvámitra. The fourth, called *Sthápatya*, was revealed by Visvámitra also; and treated of various mechanical arts.

(3.) The six VEDANGAS are considered as in some sense a subordinate part of the Vedas. The first is called *Sikshá*, or the science of pronunciation and articulation. The second is *Chhandas*, or prosody, composed by the Muni Pingala. The third is *Vyakarana*, or grammar—represented by the grammar of Pánini. Pánini, one of the greatest grammarians of the world, is believed to have lived somewhat before the time of Buddha [*see* § 44]; and to have resided in the extreme north of the Panjáb. The rules of Pánini were criticised and completed by Kátyáyana, who in all probability was the teacher of Patanjali [*see* § 37]; and he in his turn was criticised by Patanjali. These three were the three *Rishis* who wrote on grammar. The fourth Vedánga is the *Nirúkta*, or the explanation of obscure passages in the Vedas. This is represented by one great work only—the *Nirúkta* of *Yaska*; but in this work, the etymology of Vaidik terms is considered in great detail. The fifth and most complete of the Vedángas is the *kalpa* or the ceremonial; for which we have not only the Bráhmanas of the different Vedas, but also their respective *Sútras*,—the former being *Sruti*, the latter *Smriti*. It may be noticed that the *Sútras* are more practical than the Bráhmanas; containing nothing that is not immediately connected with the ceremonial. The sixth and last of the Vedángas was *Jyotiska*, or Astronomy. The earliest astronomer,

of whom any works remain, was the sage *Parásara*. The chief writer on Astronomy was called *Aryabhatta*, who lived about 500 A.D.; he affirmed the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, and made other discoveries far in advance of the age in which he lived. A later writer on Astronomy, *Bháskarácharya*, lived at Bidar in the Deccan about A.D. 1100; he is said to have discovered a mathematical process very nearly resembling the *Differential Calculus* of modern European mathematicians. Another celebrated Hindú astronomer, but far less accurate than either Aryabhatta or Bháskarácharya, was *Varáhamihira*: who lived at Ujjain between 530 and 587 A.D.

It may be noticed that the first two Vedángas were considered necessary for *reading* the Veda; the third and fourth, for *understanding* it; the fifth and sixth for *employing it at sacrifices*.

(4.) The UPANGAS, the fourth class of the Dharma-Sástras, were four in number. The first was the *Purána*, or history [*see* § 78]. The second was the *Nyáya* or logic [*see* § 38]. The third was the *Mimánsá*, or moral philosophy [*see* § 39]. The fourth was the *Dharma-Sástra*, or jurisprudence. Of this fourth Upánga, the best known is the *Mánava-dharma-sástra*, or "Laws of Manu" [*see* § 26]; the law-book of the Mánavas, a subdivision of the sect of the Taitiriyas.

§ 107. The subject of the PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE of the Hindús, and of the chief philosophical writers in Sanskrit has been briefly discussed in Part VII.

§ 108. Under the heading of MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE, the chief branches to be noticed are:—(1) the Epic poetry; (2) the Puránas; (3) the Dramatic poetry; (4) the Lyric poetry; (5) Fables and Ethical works.

§ 109. The two great Epic Poems of the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana have already been described in Parts III., IV., V.; and the Puránas in § 78. There are however some epic poets of a much later age. Of these Kálidása, better known as the greatest Hindú Dramatist [the "Shakspeare of India"—*see* next section] wrote the celebrated poem called *Raghuvansa*, or history of the race of Ráma; beginning with Dilipa, the father of Raghu, and

mainly devoted to the celebration of the exploits of Raghu and his god-like grandson Ráma. The purity of sentiment, and the tenderness and fidelity of the characters represented, are characteristic both of the *Raghuvansa* and of all the other works of Kálidása. He also wrote the *Kumára Sambhava*, or Birth of Kártikeya, the God of War; together with some other poems of the nature of epics. The other great epic poets are, *Bháravi*, *Srí-Harsha*, and *Mágha*, whose writings, with those of Kálidása, have been dignified by the titles of *Mahá Kávya*, or the great poems. Bháravi is the author of the *Kirátárjuníyá*, which contains an account of the conflict carried on by Arjuna against Siva in the form of a Kiráta, or wild hunter. Srí-Harsha's principal work is the *Naishadha-Charita*, or the Adventures of Nala, Rájá of Nishadha. Mágha is the author of *Sisupála Badha*, an epic poem on the death of Sisupála. A fifth epic poet, named *Soma-Deva*, is the author of the *Vrihat Kathá*.

§ 110. We come now to the Dramatists. Of these by far the greatest is Kálidása, who is said by the Hindús to have been one of the "gems of the Court of Vikramáditya," king of Ujjain [*see* § 81], about 57 B.C. His true date however was probably about 500 A.D. His most important Drama is *Sakuntalá*, or the Lost Ring, the plot of which is taken from an episode in the Mahábhárata [*see* § 11]. It has been translated into English, French, Bengáli, Hindí and other languages. The plot is as follows:—Sakuntalá was the daughter of the great Rishi Visvámitra, by Menaká, who had been sent from heaven by Indra to allure the sage from his austere penances. When Visvámitra returned to his penances, Menaká went back to heaven; and Sakuntalá was adopted by the Rishi Kanwa, and subsquently married in the Gandharva manner to the Rájá Dushyanta. Being cursed by a Rishi named Durvása, she was fated to be forgotten by her husband; but as some remission of this cruel sentence, it was decreed that Dushyanta should again remember her on seeing a ring which he had given her. The loss of this ring in the waters of a tank, the grief of Sakuntalá at being disowned by her husband, the ultimate recovery of the ring in the belly of a fish, and the final recognition and happiness of Sakuntalá, are the chief incidents of the play.

The son of Dushyanta and Sakuntalá was Bharata, the ancestor of the Pándus and Kurus. It is worthy of note that, whilst the higher classes are represented in the play as speaking the classical Sanskrit, the lower classes and the women speak *Prákrit*, the vulgarised form of the Sanskrit.

The other great drama of Kálidása is called the *Vikramorvasi*. It is the story of the loves of king Vikrama of Prayág, and the nymph Urvasi who was changed into a climbing-plant.

The Toy-Cart *(Mrichchhakati)* is the name of a celebrated drama of domestic life, said to be by a certain king named Sudraka. Its scene is laid in Ujjain; its hero a Bráhman, named Charudatta, who is a model of virtue, but who has been impoverished by his generosity.

Six other famous Sanskrit dramas remain to be noticed. The first is called *Málati and Mádhava*; it was written by *Bhavabhúti*, a Bráhman of Barár, whose popularity as a dramatist rivalled that of Kálidása. Bhavabhúti was also the author of two other great dramas—the *Uttara-Ráma-Charita* (the plot of which is derived from the seventh book of the Rámáyana), and the *Mahavira-Charita*. The fourth is the *Mudrá-Rákshasa* by *Visákhadatta*, wherein is dramatized the revolution by which Chandragupta succeeded the Nandas in the kingdom of Magadha. The fifth is called *Ratnávali*, or the necklace; a play attributed to king Harsha of Kashmír, who reigned from 1113 to 1125 A.D. The sixth is a theological and philosophical drama by Krishna Misra, called *Praboaha-Chandrodaya*, or "the rising of the moon of awakened intellect." It was probably composed in the twelfth century; and its object was the establishment of Vedánta doctrine.

§ 111. The most famous lyric poem in Sánskrit is the *Megha-Dúta*, or cloud-messenger, by the great dramatist Kálidása; and another by the same author is called the *Ritu-Sanhára*, descriptive of the seasons.

A lyric poem, half-dramatic, half-pastoral, called *Gíta-Govinda* about the loves of the herdsman Krishna and his shepherdess Rádhá, was written by Jayadeva about the twelfth century. Jayadeva's verses are distinguished by the most exquisite melody.

§ 112. We come now to the last division of Miscellaneous literature—*viz.*, the *Nitikathá*, or fables and works on ethics. The most celebrated work of this class is the *Panchatantra*; so called from its being divided into five sections, or five collections of stories. It is attributed to Vishnu-Sarmá, and is the foundation of a similar collection of fables called the *Hitopadesa*, or Salutary Instruction. The *Panchatantra* was translated into Pehlevi by the orders of Naushirván, king of Persia, from A.D. 531 to 599; and hence, under the name of the *Fables of Bidpai or Pilpay*, was translated into most of the languages of the civilized world. Its Arabic form, under the name of Kalila-wa Damna, was also very celebrated.

The story of the composition of the Panchatantra is curious. A certain king had three sons who were deficient in ability and application. He made this known to his councillors, and asked their advice. A learned Bráhman named Vishnu-Sarmá, who was present, offered to relieve the king of his anxiety by taking the princes to his house and instructing them perfectly. He then composed for their benefit the five *tantras*:—*viz.*, Mitra-bheda, or dissension of friends; Mitra-prápti, or acquisition of friends; Kákolukíya (the Crow and the Owl) or inveterate enmity; Sabda-nashta, or loss of advantage; Asamprekshya-karitwa, or inconsiderateness.

Four other works of a somewhat similar character are also celebrated. The first is the *Kathá-sarit-ságara*, or "ocean of the streams of narrative;" said to have been collected by king Harsha of Kashmir [*see* § 110]. The second is the *Vetála-panchavinsati*, or twenty-five stories told by a Vetála or demon. The third is the *Sinhásana-dwátrinsati*, or thirty-two tales told by the images which supported the throne of King Vikramáditya. The fourth is the *Suka-saptati*, or seventy-two tales of a parrot.

Three other famous prose works may here be mentioned:—the *Kádamvari*, by *Bánabhatta*; the *Básavadatta*, by *Subhandu*; and the *Dasakumára-charita*, by *Dandi*.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

PART I.—THE EARLY MUHAMMADAN INVASIONS. A.D. 636—1186.

§ 1. Divisions of the history of the early Muhammadan period. § 2. The rise and rapid progress of Muhammadanism. § 3. Early Arab raids in India. § 4. The Invasion of Muhammad Kásim. § 5. His fate. § 6. The converted Hindús of Sind. § 7. The rise of the Ghaznaví Dynasty. § 8. Sabaktigín. § 9. Mahmúd of Ghazni. § 10. Mahmúd's famous expeditions to India. § 11. His death and character. § 12. Mas'ud I. § 13. The Saljúks. § 14. Decline and extinction of the Ghaznaví Dynasty.

§ 1. The early Muhammadan period in India may fairly be divided into five epochs. The *first* was an age of invasions, which were generally little more than incursions for plunder. They occurred during the latter portion of the period treated of in Part XIII. of Chapter I.; and left little or no impression on the country at large. The *second* begins with the real establishment of the Musalmán power in Hindústán under Muhammad Ghori; and includes the reigns of his immediate successors, commonly called by Muhammadan historians the "Dynasty of the Slaves of the Sultáns of Gher." This period extends from A.D. 1193 to A.D. 1290; and includes, amongst other reigns, the long and important ones of Altamsh and Balban. The *third* epoch is that of the short rule of the Khilji dynasty in Delhi, from 1290 to 1320; which saw the extension of Musalmán power into the Deccan, and of which the most important reign is that of Alá-ud-dín. The *fourth* comprises the period of the Tughlak dynasty, to the death of Mahmúd Sháh in 1412; which saw the disintegration of the Muhammadan power to be afterwards re-estab-

lished by the Mughuls; and in which there are two especially long and important reigns, those of Muhammad bin Tughlak and of Fírúz Sháh. The *fifth* is the period of the Sayyid dynasty from 1414 to 1451, and of the rule of the house of Lodí to the establishment of the Mughuls in 1526.

§ 2. Muhammadans reckon as the date of the foundation of their religion, the *Hijrah*, or "Flight of Muhammad to Medina," in 622 A.D. The spread of the new faith was wonderfully rapid. Within ten years from the date of the Hijrah, the whole of Arabia submitted to the immediate disciples of the prophet; and in a surprisingly short space of time, they carried their arms over Egypt, Syria, Persia, and the adjacent countries of Central Asia.

§ 3. As early as the fifteenth year of the Hijrah (A.D. 636), during the reign of the Khalif Umar, the Muhammadan Governor of Oman in Arabia (named Abul Asi) made an expedition to Thána near Bombay, and came back with some booty. Many similar plundering excursions were made during the reigns of the early Khalifs; they were invariably successful, and the Arabs returned to their country laden with the spoils of the rich valley of the lower Indus.

§ 4. At length, when a sanguinary tyrant named Hajjáj was governor of Irak,* a larger expedition was planned, which resulted in the temporary conquest of Sind by the Arabs. That part of India was then under a Rájá named Dáhir; and under him were many rich and populous cities, of which the chief were Deba (probably near the site of the modern Karáchí), Bráhmanábád, Nirun (the modern Haidarábád), Alor (near Bhakkar Sukhar on the Indus), and Multán. King Dáhir had plundered some Arab vessels; and consequently Hajjáj despatched a strong expedition under the command of a young and able warrior nearly related to him, called MUHAMMAD KASIM. He marched through Persia and Balochistán into Sind. Debal was taken and sacked amidst terrible slaughter; the whole of Sind was subdued, together with the neighbouring provinces of Siwistán and the lower Panjáb. Dáhir

* The country at the head of the Persian Gulf, about the lower basin of the Tigris and Euphrates.

fell in a great battle, A.D. 712; his son Jai Singh escaped with difficulty, and all the towns of the kingdom were taken and plundered.

§ 5. The people of Sind were soon to be avenged. Before the caravans of plunder had reached Irak, Hajjáj died; and the Khalif Walid, the patron of Muhammad Kásim, also died within a short time. The new Khalif had other favourites; and Muhammad Kásim was recalled in A.D. 714, tortured, and put to death.

§ 6. With Muhammad Kásim, the Arab rule in Sind also virtually expired. Jai Singh returned to Bráhmanábád, and regained the sovereignty. It appears, however, that Jai Singh, with many other princes of Sind, soon afterwards embraced Muhammadanism; and ever since this period, that religion has always been powerful in the province.

§ 7. For two centuries India was now comparatively free from further inroads of the Muhammadans; and the next attack is from the mountainous regions of Afghánistán and Central Asia, north-west of the Panjáb.

In the early part of the tenth century, a dynasty (probably of Persian descent) named the Samánis were ruling in Central Asia, their capital being at Bukhára. A Túrkí slave of one of these monarchs was called Alptigín; he rose to be *Hájib*, or Lord Chamberlain, and finally (amidst the disorders that arose on the death of his master) made himself an independent king at Ghazní a strongly-fortified city seventy miles south of Kábul. SABAKTIGIN, the future conqueror of the Panjáb, was a Túrkí slave, bought by Alptigín at Bukhára about A.D. 950. He accompanied his master in his conquests, and married his daughter; and when Alptigín and his son Ishak were both dead (the latter, after an obscure reign of one year), Sabaktigín succeeded to the throne of Ghazní. He is called the first of the Ghaznaví dynasty.

§ 8. During a glorious reign of twenty years, he consolidated a kingdom in Afghánistán, Balochistán, and Túrkistán; extending from Bukhára to the Persian Gulf, and from the Sulaimán Mountains to the frontiers of Persia. Jaipál I., Rájá of Láhor [one of the "Bull and Horseman" dynasty; see Chap. I., § 90] attacked Sabaktigín in the valley of Pesháwar; but without success.

Sabaktigín in his turn invaded the Panjáb; and defeated Jaipál, together with his allies from Delhi, Ajmír, Kálinjar, and Kanauj. A second time he defeated the Hindús with heavy slaughter; but made no attempt at occupying any portion of India, contenting himself with carrying off booty and elephants. He died in A. D. 996.

§ 9. But there was one present at these battles on whom the lesson was not thrown away. MAHMUD, the son of Sabaktigín, young as he was, had not failed to notice with what ease the hardy mountaineers of Zabulistán (the mountainous country around Ghazní) had beaten the hosts of the Indian king, though the latter were far more numerous. On attaining the throne of Ghazní in A. D. 996, he received from the Khalif a *khilat* of extraordinary magnificence, together with the title of "Right Hand of the State, Guardian of the Faith, and Friend of the Chief of the Faithful." Henceforth his zeal for Islám and his love of plunder induced him to make incessant expeditions into India.

§ 10. Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní appears to have fought no less than sixteen or even seventeen distinct campaigns in India. Of these twelve are famous; and these alone we shall describe here. It may be noted that his zeal in the destruction of idols obtained for him the name of "Iconoclast," or *the image-breaker*, and that the plunder which he carried away from India vastly enriched his own country, and made Ghazní the most beautiful and the wealthiest city of the age.

I. A.D. 1001.—In his second expedition (the *first* of the famous twelve), he advanced as far as the Indus only, at the head of 10,000 chosen horse. He defeated Jaipál I. of Láhor near Peshawar; and having stormed the strong fortress of *Waihind** on the Indus (fifteen miles north of Attock), he returned to Ghazní.

[NOTE—The kings of the "Bull and Horseman" dynasty of Láhor, who were opposed to Mahmúd of Ghazní, were the last of that dynasty. Their names were:—(1) Jaipál I.; (2) Anandpál; (3) Jaipál II.; (4) Bhimpál, often called *Nidar Bhím*, or Bhím the Dauntless.]

* This has been commonly mistaken for *Batinda*, on the other side of the Satlej.

Jaipál I., having been taken prisoner in the battle of Peshâwar, considered himself no longer worthy to reign. He abdicated in favour of Anandpál, and ascended the funeral-pile, to which he set fire with his own hands.

II. Mahmúd's third expedition, in A.D. 1004, was against the Rájá of Bhera (sometimes called Bhátía) on the left bank of the Jhelam.

III. His fourth was against Abul Fath Lodí, the chief of Multán; on his way, he defeated Anandpál of Láhor, in a battle near Peshâwar.

IV. Mahmúd's sixth expedition (the fourth of the twelve famous ones) in A.D. 1008-9, was a more important one, directed against Anandpál. The latter had formed a confederacy of all the Rájpút chiefs against him, and was also aided by the warlike tribe of the Gakkhars, but he was totally defeated at Waihind near Attock, though with great loss to the invading army. Mahmúd then marched to Nagarkot (or Fort Kángrah—for centuries a celebrated hill fortress of the Himálayas overlooking the Biás) where he pillaged the rich Hindú temple. He returned to Ghazní with incalculable wealth.

V. His eighth expedition was in A.D. 1010. In this he took Multán, carrying away Abul Fath as prisoner; and he subsequently made a league with Anandpál of Láhor, who had fled to Uchh, a town in Sind.

VI. His tenth expedition was in A.D. 1014, when he sacked the celebrated shrine of Thâneswar, between the Saraswatí and the Jamnah.

VII. The eleventh expedition, in A.D. 1015, appears to have been disastrous. Mahmúd endeavoured to penetrate into Kashmír, but was compelled to retreat to Ghazní.

VIII.—The twelfth expedition in A.D. 1018-19 was against Kannúj and the sacred city of Mathurá or Muttra on the Jamnah; it is the most famous of all except the last. Mahmúd was now determined to penetrate into the heart of Hindústán. His army consisted of 100,000 horse, and 20,000 foot; these were gathered from all parts of his dominions, including the recent conquests which he had made in Bukhára and Samarkhand. He

marched from Pesháwar along the foot of the mountains, crossing the Panjáb rivers as near to their sources as possible; and presented himself before Kanaúj. This was a stately city full of incredible wealth; and its kings, who often held the title of *Maháráj á Adhiráj* [*see* Chap. I., § 83], kept a splendid court. The Rájá threw himself on the generosity of Mahmúd, who admitted him to his friendship, and after three days left his city uninjured.

From thence he advanced to Muttra, sacred as the birthplace of Krishna, which was given up to the soldiers for twenty days. Its temples struck Mahmúd with admiration, and kindled in him the desire to cover the barren rocks of Ghazní with similar edifices. Hindú slaves after this were sold in the army of the conqueror at two rupees each.

IX. Mahmúd's thirteenth expedition in A.D. 1022 was directed against the Rájá of Kálinjar, who had slain the Rájá of Kanaúj for submitting to the invader in the last compaign. The Rájá of Kálinjar was aided by Jaipál II. (son of Anandpál and grandson of Jaipál I.) of Láhor. The latter was routed in a great battle on the banks of the river Ráhib. The result was the permanent occupation of Láhor by a Muhammadan garrison, and the appointment of a viceroy of Láhor by Mahmúd. *This was the foundation of the Musalmán empire in India.*

X. The fourteenth expedition of Mahmúd in A.D. 1023, was another fruitless attempt to penetrate into Kashmír.

XI. Mahmúd, in his fifteenth expedition, in A.D. 1024, received the submission of Gwálior and Kálinjar. From both of these places, and especially from Kálinjar, he obtained an enormous amount of gold and jewels, and a great many elephants.

XII. The sixteenth expedition (which was also the last, except a small and unimportant one a little later) was undertaken by Mahmúd in A.D. 1026-27, against the famous temple of Somnáth in the Gujarát peninsula. The march was long, including 350 miles of desert; and Mahmúd made extraordinary preparations for it. He passed through Multán, and thence across the desert to Anhalwára or Nahrwála, the ancient capital of Gujarát [*see* Chap. I., § 83], whose Rájá, named Bhím, fled before him. The struggle before Somnáth was terrible, and [illegible]s. The

Rájpút princes assembled from all parts to defend their holiest shrine; but their desperate valour was unavailing against the bravery and enthusiasms of Mahmúd and his veterans. The treasure obtained was immense; some of the Muhammadan historians say that the image of Somnáth (which the Bráhmans had offered to ransom by the payment of many crores of gold coins), when broken by Mahmúd's own hand, was found to contain a mass of rubies and other precious stones far exceeding in value the offered ransom.

Mahmúd had some thought of remaining for a long time in the beautiful land of Gujarát; but was dissuaded by his ministers. He marched back through Sind, his army suffering terrible privations.

§ 11. Mahmúd died at Ghazní in A.D. 1030, in his sixty-third year. In his character, energy and prudence were admirably combined. His zeal in the cause of Islám was never-flagging; it sometimes carried him into cruel excesses, but did not prevent his making friends with infidels (as in the cases of the Rájá of Kanaúj and the Rájá of Kálinjar) who could be of use to him. He was a skilful and enterprising commander in time of war; and in time of peace, notwithstanding extreme avarice (which was displayed in his appropriating and hoarding the vast Indian booty); he was a liberal patron of learning, and devoted large sums to the maintenance of a University and to the support of learned men. A Mosque, which he founded and named "the Celestial Bride," was the wonder of the whole East for the splendour of its architecture and adornments.

§ 12. On the death of Mahmúd there was a contest for the throne between Muhammad and Mas'úd, twin sons of Sultán Mahmúd; the former reigned for seven months, and was then deposed and blinded by Mas'úd I. This monarch made several inroads into India; in one of which he captured Hánsí, called the "virgin fortress," because it had never before yielded to any invader. One of the Viceroys of Láhor under Mas'úd penetrated as far as Benares, which he plundered.

§ 13. The Saljúks, a Túrkí tribe of Central Asia, now invaded Ghazní and harassed the kingdom of Mas'úd. The latter was at length totally defeated by these invaders in a battle which lasted three days; he fled to Láhor, and ultimately gave up the whole of

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been rising on its ruins in the south of Afghánistán. The chieftains of the hill territory of Ghor, between Ghazní and Herát, had long been known as warlike and ambitious princes; and one of them, Muhammad Suri, had been with great difficulty subdued by the great Mahmúd. A later prince, named Kutb-ud-dín, married the daughter of Bahrám [*see* last section]; a quarrel arose, and Bahrám murdered his son-in-law. The result was a war in which Ala-ud-dín, a brother of the murdered prince, took Ghazní by storm, and give it up for seven days to his victorious soldiery, by whom it was utterly sacked; for which ferocious revenge his name has been handed down to posterity as "the burner of the word" (*Jahánsoz*).

§ 16. In A.D. 1173, the nephew of Ala-ud-dín, named Ghiás-un-dín, wrested Ghazní from the hands of the Túrkí tribe, who had held it for twelve years after they had turned out the last of the Ghaznaví dynasty. Ghiás-ud-dín placed his younger brother Shaháb-ud-dín (Muhammad Ghori) on the throne of Ghazní, and himself returned to Ghor.

§ 17. Muhammad bin Sám, or MUHAMMAD GHORI (whose early title was Shaháb-ud-dín, and his later name Muizz-ud-dín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sám) was the true founder of the Musalmán Empire of India. He was the First Muhammadan King of Delhi. A table of the succession of these kings of Delhi from Muhammad Ghori to the invasion of Bábar, is here inserted for reference.

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.
1	Muizz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám (Shaháb-ud-dín, or Muhammad Ghori)	A.D. [illegible]
2	Kutb-ud-dín Aibak	,,
3	Arám Sháh	
4	Shams-ud-dín Altamsh	
5	Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh I	
6	Sultána Razíah	
7	Muizz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh	
	Ala-ud-dín Mas'úd Sháh	
	Nasir-ud-din Mahmúd	

No.	Name.	Date of Accession.
10	Ghiás-ud-dín Balban	A. D. 1265
11	Muizz-ud-dín Kaikubád	„ 1287
12	Jalál-ud-dín Firúz Sháh II., Khiljí (2nd Dynasty) ...	„ 1290
13	Rukn-ud-dìn Ibrahím	„ 1295
14	Ala-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh	„ 1295
15	Shaháb-ud-dín Umár	„ 1315
16	Kutb-ud-dìn Mubarák Sháh I	„ 1316
17	Násir-ud-dìn Khúsrau	„ 1320
18	Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh (3rd Dynasty) ...	„ 1320
19	Muhammad bin Tughlak	„ 1325
20	Fírúz Sháh III., bin Salar Rajab	„ 1351
21	Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh II...	„ 1388
22	Abúbakr Sháh	„ 1389
23	Násir-ud-din Muhammad Sháh bin Fírúz Shah ...	„ 1389
24	Sikandar Sháh (Humáyún)	„ 1392
25	Mahmúd Sháh bin Muhammad Sháh (Tímúr 1403) ...	„ 1392
26	Nusrat Sháh; Interregnum Mahmúd restored 1405 ...	„ 1395
27	Daulat Khán Lodí	„ 1412
28	Khizr Khán Sayyid (4th Dynasty)	„ 1414
29	Muizz-ud-din Mubárak Sháh II	„ 1421
30	Muhammad Sháh bin Faríd Sháh	„ 1433
31	Alam Sháh (or Ala-ud-din)	„ 1443
32	Buhlol Lodí (5th Dynasty)	„ 1450
33	Sikandar bin Buhlol	„ 1488
34	Ibráhím bin Sikandar (Bábar 1526)	„ 1517

§ 18. Muhammad Ghori in 1175, two years after his settlement in the government of Ghazní, conquered Múltan from the heretic Muhammadans who held it; but in the following years he was defeated in an expedition against the Rájá of Nahrwála. He next attacked Khusrau Malik, the last of the Ghaznavís in Láhor; and captured him by stratagem in 1184. In 1191 he marched into the heart of Hindústán, and sustained a crushing defeat from the Chohán Rájpút [*see* Chap. I., § 90] Prithvi Rájá of Ajmír, at Thaneswar. This is sometimes called the battle of Naráin.

§ 19. Prithvi Rájá, or Rái Pithaura, represented the flower of Rájpút chivalry: and has always been one of the favourite heroes of the Hindús. His mother was a Tuár Rájpút Princess of Delhi; his father was Someswar, an heir of the Chohán of Ajmír. Jaichand, Rájá of Kanaúj, was his cousin, being the son of another Tuár Princess, sister of Prithvi's mother; Prithvi, however, not-

withstanding the opposition of Jaichand, had succeeded to the two thrones of Delhi and Ajmír. His Praises are sung in the poems of Chand Bardai, his devoted admirer and friend.

§ 20. Prithvi Rájá, after he had defeated Muhammad Ghori at the first battle of Thaneswar, endeavoured to provide against the recurrence of the danger by forming a confederacy of all the Rájpút Princes; and it is said that he was accompanied in the next campaign by the forces of no less than a hundred and forty Rájás. The contests between the two cousins, Prithvi, of Ajmír and Delhi, and Jaichand, of Kanaúj, had undoubtedly weakened the Hindús; and when, in the following year (1193), they again met Muhammad Ghori on the same battle-field of Thaneswar, they were utterly routed. Prithvi Rájá was captured and put to death; and the Musalmán power was firmly established by this one battle.

§ 21. An interesting parallel may be drawn between the battle of Thaneswar and the battle of Hastings which established the Norman power in England. The respective characters of Muhammad Ghori and of Prithvi Rájá in the one contest, and those of William the Conqueror and Harold the Saxon in the other, are by no means dissimilar. Domestic dissensions, the quarrels between Harold and his brother Tostig, had weakened the Saxons; just as the fights between Ajmír and Kanaúj had weakened the Hindús. The Muhammadan troops were animated by a fiery religious enthusiasm, and their leader believed he was recovering the conquered possessions of his great precursor, Mahmúd of Ghazní; just as William the Norman carried with him the sacred banner of the Pope, and regarded the Saxon as the usurper who had broken his oath and supplanted the rightful heir of Edward the Confessor. And, lastly, the numerous hosts of the brave Rájpúts were unable to stand against the hardy and disciplined veterans of Muhammad; just as the chivalrous devotion of the Saxons availed nothing against the coolness and steadiness of William's practised soldiers and the consummate military skill of their leader.

§ 22. Muhammad Ghori returned home after the battle of Thaneswar, leaving his lieutenant Kutb-ud-dín (who had been a slave, and who ultimately succeeded to the throne) as Viceroy. Kutb-ud-dín conquered Mírat and Delhi in his master's absence;

and the next year (1194) Muhammad Ghori returned to Hindústán. He advanced on Kanaúj; and totally defeated Jaichand, the former enemy of Prithvi, at Chandrawár in the Doáb. He then again departed to his dominions west of the Indus, leaving Kutb-ud-dín to consolidate his conquests.

§ 23. Thirteen years later, Muhammad again entered the Panjáb; when he was assassinated in his own camp, by a band of Gakkhars [*see* § 10] in 1205. His character was that of "a soldier of fortune;" a tough and obstinate mountaineer, whom no vicissitudes of fortune could daunt and no defeats could dismay. As a king, it was expected of him in that turbulent age that he should fight and conquer and injure his neighbours to the best of his abilities; and he appears to have acted up to this notion of his kingly duties all his life, in a calm and determined way. Mahmúd, Prince of Bust, was the nephew and successor of Muhammad Ghori, but beyond the fact of his conferring the emblems of regal dignity on the imperial viceroys at the death of Muhammad, he has no further connexion with Indian history.

§ 24. *Second king, A.D.* 1206—1210.—KUTB-UD-DIN AIBAK, mentioned above, succeeded as king of Delhi. Three other slaves and lieutenants of Muhammad Ghori succeeded to other parts of his dominions, *viz.*, Taj-ud-dín *Ilduz* at Ghazni, Nasir-ud-dín *Kubáchah* in Multán and Sind, and Muhammad *Bakhtiár Khiljí* in Bihár and Bengal. Kutb-ud-dín had already consolidated his kingdom whilst acting as viceroy for Muhammad Ghori, at Delhi and Láhor. No important events happened after his actual accession, except a successful campaign against Ilduz. In this campaign he took Ghazní, but almost immediately evacuated it.

§ 25. *Third king, A.D.* 1210.—ARAM succeeded his father Aibak; but within a year was deposed by Altamsh, formerly a slave, and now a son-in-law of the late king.

§ 26. *Fourth king, A.D.* 1210—1235.—Shams-ud-dín ALTAMSH was the greatest of the Slave Kings. Ilduz, king of Ghazní, was driven into Hindústán by the king of Khwarizm; and was captured and thrown into prison by Altamsh. Not long after, the king of Khwarizm, himself overpowered by the Mughul hordes under

Changiz Khan,* endeavoured to establish himself in Hindústán, but was forced to take refuge in Sind. Subsequently Kubáchah, king of Sind, was defeated by 'Altamsh; he drowned himself at Bhakkar, and Altamsh annexed his dominions. The victorious Sultán forcibly asserted his supremacy over the Khiljí chiefs in Bihár and Bengal; and occupied the rest of his reign in subduing those portions of the country (Rantambhor, Gwálior, Bhilsa, Ujjain, &c.) which had remained independent, or having been conquered, had revolted. Before his death he was lord of all Hindústán, with the exception of some few isolated portions.

During this reign Chahár-Deva, Rájá of Narwár, was acknowledged by the Rájpúts as *Maháráją Adhiráj*. He endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to maintain his position against Altamsh; but was at length compelled to confess the supremacy of the latter. Altamsh obtained recognition from the Khalif of Baghdád—an important event in the history of a Muhammadan kingdom.

§ 27. *Fifth king, A. D.* 1235-1236—RUKN-UD-DIN Fírúz Sháh succeeded his father; his reign of six months was disgraced by his debaucheries. There were several coalitions of nobles, organized to defeat the intrigues of the Queen-mother. Rukn-ud-dín was deposed by his sister, who had originally been nominated to the empire by Altamsh.

§ 28. *Sixth reign, A.D.* 1236—1239.—RAZIAH, called on her coins *Sultán* (in the masculine gender), justified her father's choice by the display of very considerable ability in establishing her power, notwithstanding the opposition of the Vazír and many of the provincial governors. The drawback of her sex, however, presented itself at the height of her prosperity. She displayed a scandalous partiality for an Abyssinian slave in the court, which gave extreme offence to the Túrkí nobles. Altúniah, the governor of Sarhind, rebelled; the Abyssinian was killed in the battle that followed, and Razíah was transferred to the *zanána* of the conqueror. Altúniah now advanced on Delhi, but was defeated and

* This Tatár leader was one of the greatest conquerors of the world. He overran all Asia; but was fortunately diverted from attempting the conquest of India. Bábar's mother was a descendant of his tribe.

put to death, together with the Empress, by the nobles, who set up the brother of the latter, named Bahrám.

§ 29. *Seventh king, A.D.* 1239—1241.—The reign of Muizz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh, brother of Raziah, again proved the correctness of Altamsh's estimate of the characters of his own sons. He was a violent man, and showed so much severity in putting down two conspiracies, that the army (which had been sent to repress an inroad of the Mughuls who had captured Láhor) revolted. Under the command of the Vazír, the troops marched back to Delhi, captured the city, and murdered the Sultán.

§ 30. *Eighth king, A.D.* 1241—1246.—The reign of Alá-ud-dín MAS'UD, son of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz, and grandson of Altamsh, is chiefly remarkable for an invasion of Sind by the Mughuls,* who, however, withdrew without fighting. The Sultán, at first apparently a youth of amiable character, appears to have contracted licentious habits at the time of this campaign. Great disorders at length arose; the nobles invited Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd to assume the tiara, and the Sultán was thrown into prison where he died.

§ 31. *Ninth king, A.D.* 1246—1265.—Násir-ud-dín MAHMUD succeeded his nephew Mas'úd. He was the second son of Altamsh *of that name;* his elder brother of the same name having died whilst governing Bihár and Bengal. He appears to have led a virtuous and secluded life. Devoted to the occupation of transcribing the Kurán, he resigned the affairs of State to his Vazír, Ulugh Khan, better known by his imperial title of Ghiás-ud-dín Balban. The formidable Hindú Rájá Chahár-Deva, mentioned above, was subjugated in this reign; his fort of Narwár was taken and many other minor Hindú States were reduced to submission. The Mughuls, who had entered Multán, were successfully opposed. A quarrel occurred at one time between the Sultán and his faithful Vazír Balban; the latter was ordered to retire to his private estates, but was soon restored to power by his master, who could do nothing without him.

* Many historians give an account of an invasion of Bengal by the Mughuls in this reign: but recent researches prove that no such invasion took place.

§ 32. *Tenth king, A.D.* 1265—1287.—Mahmúd dying without heirs, the powerful Vazír Ghiás-ud-dín BALBAN (a son-in-law of the great Altamsh) peaceably took possession of the throne. The first use he made of his power was to endeavour to destroy the influence of the Túrkí nobles (of whom he had himself been one); who to the number of forty, formerly slaves of Altamsh, had formed a sort of military oligarchy for mutual protection and aggrandisement. The king now did his best to cut off all these, his former associates, including many of his near relations. He instituted many severe and tyrannical laws. Further, to secure his position, he organized a searching and all-pervading system of espionage; and having brought his army to a high state of efficiency, seems to have determined not to venture far away from his capital.

§ 33. His unsparing rigour secured the peace of his dominions throughout his long reign; the only important disturbance being a serious revolt of Tughral, the Governor of Bengal, who assumed the style and titles of an independent king, and succeeded in defeating two several armies sent to subdue him. At length the Sultán marched agaist him in person; and one of his commanders, coming upon the forces of the rebels somewhat unexpectedly, in a dashing spirit of chivalry, though at the head of only forty troopers, entered their camp at headlong speed, and struck panic into his adversaries by his very rashness. In the precipitate flight which ensued, Tughral was captured and slain; and Bengal was confided to the care of Bughrá Khán, the second son of the Sultán.

§ 34. Balban at length died at the age of eighty, of a broken heart, caused by the loss of the heir-apparent Muhammad, the Governor of Multán, who fell bravely fighting against the Mughuls. Owing to the disorganization of the neighbouring kingdoms by the inroads of these fierce invaders, Balban's court gave refuge to an immense gathering of illustrious exiles, including no less than fifteen sovereign princes. Amongst these exiles were many celebrated literary men, of whom Amir Khusrau, the Persian poet, was the most famous [*see* § 101].

§ 35. *Eleventh king, A.D.* 1287—1290.—Muizz-ud-dín KAIKU-

BAD, the son of Bughrá Khán of Bengal, was elevated to the throne on the death of his grandfather. Balban had implored Bughrá Khán himself to come to Delhi to be nominated as the successor; but on his refusal to leave Bengal, the old king had nominated Kai Khusrau (the son of the deceased heir, Muhammad) as his heir. On the death of Balban, the party in power at Delhi procured the accession of Kaikubád, to avoid the horrors of a civil war between Bughrá Khán and Kai Khusrau; and the two latter seem to have acquiesced in this settlement, Bughrá Khán governing in Bengal, and Kai Khusrau at Láhor.

The young king soon gave way to dissipation, and fell under the guidance of an ambitious minister named Názim-ud-dín, who hoped to secure the throne for himself. Názim-ud-din at first intrigued with Kai Khusrau; but soon procured the assassination of the latter as a dangerous rival. He next attacked the Nau Muslim (converted) Mughuls, who at this time formed an important element in the body politic at Delhi; and got them put to death one after another. He next endeavoured to sow distrust between the king and his father, and actually induced the former to lead an army towards Bengal. When the armies met, the natural affection between the father and son caused a reconciliation, and frustrated the designs of the ambitious Vazír; and the latter was shortly afterwards poisoned. Jalál-ud-dín Khiljí, governor of Samána, became Vazír, and succeeded to all the old influence of Názim-ud-dín. He employed his power, however, more effectually; for he got possession of the person of the young heir-apparent, and then caused the assassination of the king who had already become paralysed. Thus ended the dynasty of the Slaves of the Sultáns of Ghor.

PART III.—THE KHILJI DYNASTY. A.D. 1290—1320.

§ 36. Origin of the Khiljís. § 37. Jalál-ud-dín Khiljí. § 38. Sidi Maulá. § 39. Campaigns of Alá-ud-dín in the Deccan. § 40. Murder of Jalál-ud-dín. § 41. Ibráhim. § 42. Accession of Alá-ud-dín. § 43. Summary of his reign. § 44. Various revolts. § 45. The Mughuls. § 46. Malik Káfur. § 47. Dewál Deví. § 48. Malik Káfur's successes in the Deccan. § 49. Death of Alá-ud-dín. § 50. His character. § 51. Umar. § 52. Mubárak. § 53. Khusrau.

§ 36. The Khiljís were a Túrkí tribe; but they had been long settled amongst the Afgháns between Siwistán and India, and were commonly reckoned as Afgháns or Patháns.

§ 37. *Twelfth king, A.D.* 1290—1295.—JALAL-UD-DIN Fírúz Sháh, the head of the Khiljí tribe, was the chief of the old Ghaznaví or Ghorian party; whose principal rivals were the Túrkí adherents of the family of Balban. The latter party had rallied around the young prince, son of Kaikubád, whom they had endeavoured to make king under the title of Shams-ud-dín. Jalál-ud-dín frustrated their attempts by seizing this youth, who was made away with after about three months; and, subsequently, in the second year of his reign, he totally routed a formidable levy of this party, and captured Malik Chajú, the nephew of Balban, and the chief of the faction. He displayed extraordinary clemency in his treatment of the defeated rebels; and throughout the rest of his reign, the mildness of his administration was so extreme that even robbers and other evil-doers escaped their just punishment, and many disorders appear to have arisen in consequence.

§ 38. The single exception to this feeble lenity was an unfortunate one; for a *Darwesh* named Sidi Maulá, of high repute for sanctity, was put to death in the royal presence, because some conspirators had plotted to put him on the throne; and his dying curse had a strong effect on the superstitious minds of the people. A dreadful whirlwind happened to arise just after the execution; the following year was one of famine, and these misfortunes, together with the miserable end of the king, and the exclusion of his family from the throne, were all ascribed to the retributive action of the Sidi's curse.

§ 39. With the exception of an expedition of the Sultán to Rantambhor in 1290, and of an inroad of the Mughuls in 1292, —checked by Jalál-ud-dín, and the prisoners treated with his usual forbearance—the chief interest of this reign centres in the campaigns of Ala-ud-dín, the king's ferocious nephew and successor. He successfully invaded the Deccan; marching from his Government of Oudh, he passed through Ilichpur and attacked Deogiri (now Daulatábád) the capital of Ramdeo, king of Mahárhrástra. The Rájá was compelled to submit, to cede Ilichpur,

and to pay an enormous tribute; and Ala-ud-dín then returned to Málwah.

§ 40. He now marched towards Delhi; pretending friendship, he induced the king to come out and meet him with a small retinue; and the poor old man was assassinated at the moment of clasping the hands of his treacherous nephew.

§ 41. *Thirteenth king, A.D.* 1295.—Rukn-ud-dín Ibráhim, a younger son of Jalál-ud-dín, and an infant, was hastily set up by the Queen-Mother on the assassination of his father; the elder son, Arkali Khán, being absent in his governorship of Multán. The boy-Sultán had to flee, on the approach of Ala-ud-dín, to the protection of his brother at Multán, and his reign is historically merely a nominal one.

§ 42. *Fourteenth king, A.D.* 1295—1315.—The ferocious ALA-UD-DIN, secure in the command of a veteran army and of the immense treasures which he had brought from the Deccan, assumed the insignia of royalty in his camp immediately after the murder of Jalál-ud-dín. He distributed enormous largesses to the nobles and populace of Delhi; and having by an artifice obtained possession of the persons of the Queen Dowager and her two sons, he cruelly put them to death in cold blood.

§ 43. The events of this long reign were of the ordinary character—insurrections generally put down with sanguinary severity; invasions of Mughuls; and the successes of a victorious general, Malik Náib Káfúr.

§ 44. The final conquest of Gujarát was effected in A.D. 1297. Some of the troops returning from this campaign mutinied; their wives and children were massacred by the king, and ultimately the rebels themselves were captured and slain. In 1299, an attempt was made on the king's life by his nephew, Prince Sulaimán, whilst on a hunting expedition. The prince, believing that his uncle was dead, hurried to the camp and proclaimed himself king; but Ala-ud-dín recovered from his wounds, and presented himself to the army, by whom he was received with joy. Sulaimán was executed for his treason; and a similar fate subsequently befell two other rebellious nephews. Another event more serious revolt happened, whilst the

Sultán was engaged in the siege of Rantambhor; a turbulent man named Háji Maulá succeeded in getting possession of the royal palace at Delhi, and absolutely elevated a puppet king, in the shape of a descendant of Alí, who, however, only enjoyed the doubtful dignity for a few days, for which he paid the forfeit of his head.

§ 45. As the leading object of the Mughuls in their expeditions was usually merely plunder, it was seldom that they left any record of their raids over the devoted lands beyond the devastation which marked their track. In the case of Kwájah Kutlugh, however, who pushed his forces up to the walls of Delhi, in A.D. 1298, to be defeated at last by Alá-ud-dín, the horde over which he ruled seems to have contemplated a more permanent occupancy of southern soil, and to have established temporary head-quarters at Ghazní. Alá-ud-dín defeated Kutlugh, mainly through the skill of his general Zafar Khán whom, however, he basely allowed to be cut off by the Mughuls at the close of the battle.

§ 46. In A.D. 1300, Alá-ud-dín conquered the strong fort of Rantambhor; and the still more celebrated one of Chítor some three years later. About this period the Mughuls ceased their incursions for a long time; and the Emperor now turned his attention to the South of India. An expedition was sent into the Deccan under Malik Káfúr, who brought the Rájá of Deogiri captive to Delhi.

§ 47. A romantic episode of one of these campaigns is very famous. Dewál Deví, the daughter of the Rájá of Gujarát, was renowned as the most beautiful damsel in India: and the honour of her hand had been so eagerly sought for by the Hindú princes that armies had been set in motion on her account. By chance, she and all her escort were captured by the Imperial army; she was sent to Delhi, and there she found her own mother Kamalá Deví established as the favourite Queen in the Emperor's palace. It was not long before the young heir-apparent, Khizr Khán, saw and appreciated her charms. The love was mutual; and though the Emperor was at first angry, he at length consented to the match, and the young lovers were married in due form. The story of their loves has been made the subject of a

beautiful, though rather lengthy, Persian poem by Amir Khusrau. The interest in her tale is, however, sadly shaken by her melancholy after-fate, the penalty of her extraordinary beauty. As a widow, she was forcibly married to the two succeeding Sultáns, one after the other; the one being the brother and murderer of her husband, the other the base-born usurper, Khusrau.

§ 48. Malik Káfúr continued his victorious expeditions into the Deccan. Four times he marched thither,—in 1306, 1309, 1310, and in 1312; and surpassed even his successful master in the amount of glory and spoil which he there acquired. He successively conquered Mahárásh tra Telingánah (taking the strong fort of Warangal after a siege of some months) Carnáta, and Malabár as far as Cape Comorin. Having carried the arms of the Emperor of Delhi throughout the Indian peninsula, he began to intrigue against his master; and it is more than suspected that he hastened his death by poison.

§ 49. Alá-ud-dín's mind and his body were now failing under the influence of habitual intemperance. He became jealous of every one; imprisoned his queen and his two eldest sons, and caused his brother Alaf Khán, and his great general Alp Khán, to be murdered. Rebellions broke out; and in the midst of these Alá-ud-dín died in 1315.

§ 50. Alá-ud-dín was not without genius, and his military skill was undoubted; but his want of mental discipline and judgment led him into the wildest schemes. He sometimes contemplated proclaiming himself, as Muhammad had done, the Prophet of a new religion; at other times he aimed at the conquest of the world, and assumed the title of the second Alexander, which may still be seen on some of his coins. He was, however, in his more sober schemes, resolute and energetic; and his reign is an instance of the success of vigour, even in the worst and most tyrannical despotisms.

§ 51. *Fifteenth King, A.D.* 1315.—A child named Shaháb-ud-dín Umar was set up for a short time as a puppet king by the great commander, the eunuch Malik Káfúr. The latter, however, was almost immediately assassinated by some *Páiks* (irregular soldiery); and as he had already blinded Khizr Khán, the rightful

heir, another brother named Mubárak was made regent for Umar. Mubárak soon murdered Khizr Khán, blinded Umar, and transferred the crown to his own brow.

§ 52. *Sixteenth king, A.D.* 1316—1320.—Kutb-ud-dín MUBARAK Sháh gave himself up to all kinds of debauchary; and resigned the command of the State to his Vazír, Khusrau Khán, a man who was originally a slave, and a Hindú of the lowest caste. Khusrau conquered Malabár in 1319: and on his return to Delhi, personally superintended the murder of the king. He ascended the throne amid an indiscriminate massacre of all prominent adherents of the old Muhammadan dynasty.

§ 53. *Seventeenth king, A.D.*, 1320.—The accession of Násír-ud-dín KHUSRAU KHAN signalised a transient eclipse of Muslim prestige in India. He took the Princess Dewál Deví into his own seraglio, and distributed other Muhammadan women to 'infidel' masters. By his style and titles he seems outwardly to have professed Islam: but the Muhammadan historians are pathetic in their accounts of the indignities inflicted on their religion by him. Had he been a man of good birth—one whom the Hindú Princes could have acknowledged as *Mahárájá Adhiráj*—the danger to the Muhammadan power might have been great. As it was, the Hindús themselves did not sympathise with this unclean *Pariah;* who was soon in his turn defeated and put to death by Ghází Beg Tughlak, the Governor of Diabalpur in the Panjáb.

PART IV.—THE DYNASTY OF TUGHLAK. A.D. 1320—1412.

§ 54. *Eighteenth king, A.D.* 1320—1325.—The accession of Ghiás-ud-dín TUGHLAK SHAH brings us to the fourth epoch of early Muhammadan history [*see* § 1]. He belonged to a T family. He at first affected some reluctance in accepting

vacant throne. His rule was inaugurated by wise regulations tending to the relief and well-being of the cultivators of the soil; and most of his acts appear to have been of a benevolent and just character. In an expedition to Bengal in A.D. 1324 he received the submission of Shahâb-ud-dîn Bughrá Shahá, and carried his turbulent brother, Bahâdur Shâh of *Eastern* Bengal (the territory of Sunárganw), captive to Delhi [*see* § 86]. The heir-apparent, Fakr-ud-dín Juná, or Ulugh Khán, who had led two expeditions into the Deccan (the last one having been brilliantly successful), was left as Viceroy of Delhi. When his father the old Sultán, returned in triumph from Bengal in company with his favourite son, Ulugh Khán received them near Delhi in a wooden pavilion, which was cunningly devised to fall and crush its occupants Ulugh Khán contrived to be absent at the time of the catastrophe which killed his father and brother.

In an inscription quoted by Ibn Batutah, this monarch declared that he had encountered the Tatárs on twenty-nine occasions and defeated them.

§ 55. *Nineteenth king, A.D.* 1325.—1351.—Ulugh Khán succeeded under the title of MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK; and in spite of the fact that his cruelties made him hated and feared by all, he reigned for twenty-seven years. He was an able man, generous to profusion, an accomplished scholar, abstinent, a stern defender of his faith, and the most experienced general of his day. Against these many merits had to be set a determination which hesitated at no means in the compassing of his own ends, a ferocity possibly inherited from the desert tribes which could conceive no punishment effectual but death, combined with a perversion of intellect which induced him to allow despotism to run into insane fury at any sign of opposition to his will. His mind was cast to know no mercy or compassion as a judge, and he was led to carry out his best intentioned measures with an utter disregard of human suffering; as instanced in the transportation, in some cases* with

* Of two men, one bed-ridden and the other blind, who were found by the king's servants lagging behind in Delhi, the former was projected from a catapult; the latter was dragged by the feet to Deogiri, a ten day's journey—at the end of which only one leg was remaining to represent the unfortunate wretch.

brutal violence, of the inoffensive citizens of Delhi in a mass, for the mere purpose of filling his newly-created city of Deogiri.

§ 56. At first, his dominions were more extensive than any that had been possessed by any of his predecessors; but they were utterly incoherent, and the empire fell to pieces during his reign. The causes of the dissolution of the empire are to be sought for—(1) in the lukewarm loyalty of governors of provinces, now that the tie of nationality (so effective formerly among the ruling classes under the Túrkí dynasties) had disappeared amid the dissensions of the Túrkís and the Khiljís; (2) in the extent of the empire and the fact of the Sultán generally having to command his own armies—for though he was usually victorious, the very fact of his absence in distant parts encouraged the disaffected elsewhere; (3) in the state of the roads and the general insecurity of the country. A rebellion in Bengal in 1340 was completely successful; the Sultán's early triumph, Warangal, which he had renamed Sultánpur, reverted to its ancient name in the hands of other masters; Deogiri, his chosen capital, submitted to Hasan Gango, the founder of a new race of kings, the Bahmani dynasty of Gulbargah, who were destined to play a prominent part in the history of the country [*see* Chap. IV., § 8]; and finally Muhammad bin Tughlak, the owner of so many kingdoms, died miserably of a fever near Tatta, on the lower Indus—and his nephew and successor, with the army, had some difficulty in getting back to Delhi.

§ 57. Muhammad had at one time intended to invade Persia, but his vast army was disbanded after the consumption of all his treasures. He then projected the conquest of China, which was to replenish his coffers. A hundred thousand men marched across the Himálayas; but attacked by the mountaineers and the Chinese, and worn out with fatigue and famine, hardly a man returned.

§ 58. In order to meet all these expenses, he attempted to introduce brass medals instead of money; imitating the paper-currency of China, of which he had heard. The result, however, was an utter failure, which increased his own poverty and the sufferings of the people. He also attempted on his coins to

remedy the deficiency of his title to the crown, by substituting for his own name that of an Egyptian scion of the Abbaside Khalifs who was already dead.

§ 59. *Twentieth king, A.D.* 1351—1388.—FIRUZ SHAH, the nephew of the late king, succeeded him. Kwájah-i-Jahán, the minister in charge of Delhi, believing a report of the death of Fírúz, had set up a supposititious son of Muhammad bin Tughlak; but on the arrival of Fírúz, he paid for his mistake with his life. Fírúz appears to have been a man of very weak character, addicted to wine, devoted to the chase, credulous, but amiable and merciful to an extent that in less quiet times might have proved disastrous.

§ 60. After two unskilfully conducted campaigns in Bengal, he acknowledged the independence of that province, and also of the Deccan. He had successively two very able Vazírs, father and son, both called Khán-i-Jahán, Hindús of Telingánah; and for the greater part of his reign he resigned all administrative functions to these men, and devoted himself to the exercise of his taste for building, canal-making, and the like.

§ 61. Fírúz Sháh's speciality was the construction and repair of public works; and the amount executed under his orders, though doubtless exaggerated by the historians, was certainly very large. His most important work was the construction of a double system of canals for the supply of his new city of Hisár Fírúzah, the headwaters of which were drawn both from the Jamnah and the Satlej; the former branch is still used.

§ 62. Three of the sons of Fírúz Sháh—*viz.*, Fath Khán, Zafar Khán, and Násir-ud-dín Muhammad bin Fírúz—were successively associated with him in the sovereignty, and their names appear with his on the coins. The last-named was compelled to flee from the metropolis by two of his cousins; who proclaimed that the Sultán had abdicated in favor of his grandson Ghiás-ud-dín, the son of the deceased Fath Khán. In the following year Fírúz Sháh died.

§ 63. *Twenty-first king, A.D.* 1388.—GHIAS-UD-DIN TUGHLAK SHAH II., immediately on the death of Fírúz, assumed the full insignia of royalty; and endeavoured to capture the fugitive

Muhammad bin Fírúz. Muhammad escaped to Nagarkot; and the young Sultán was content to give himself up to unbridled dissipation in the capital, leaving the management of his kingdom to his ministers. One of these, named Rukn Chand, the Náib Vazír, put forward Abúbakr Sháh, the son of Zafar Khan, as a claimant for the throne; and Tughlak Sháh, in attempting to escape from his palace towards the Jamnah, was overtaken and killed.

§ 64. *Twenty-second King, A.D.* 1389.—On the accession of ABUBAKR bin Zafar Khán, his prime-minister Rukn Chand began to intrigue against him; but a confederacy of nobles attached to the house of Tughlak soon put the treacherous Vazír to death. Muhammad Sháh came out from Nagarkot to assert his own claims; was unsuccessful in several campaigns; but being at last joined by Islám Khán, a very powerful noble (a member of the Association called "the Slaves of Fírúz Sháh"), he succeeded in ousting Abubakr, who died in prison at Mírat.

§ 65. *Twenty-third king, A.D.* 1389—1392.—NASIR-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD bin Fírúz Sháh reigned three years, during which he suppressed a rebellion of the Rájá of Etáwah, and destroyed his fort. Islám Khán, himself a converted Hindú, was put to death on the false testimony of his own nephew, an unconverted Hindú; and Kwájah Jahán (afterwards the founder of the powerful dynasty of Jaunpur) was made Vazír. In the following year the Sultán died.

§ 66. *Twenty-fourth king, A.D.* 1392.—Humáyún, the son of Násir-ud-dín Muhammad, succeeded his father; but died after a brief reign of forty-five days.

§ 67. *Twenty-fifth king, A.D.* 1392—1412.—MAHMUD bin Muhammad Sháh was perhaps the most insignificant of all the feeble successors of Fírúz Sháh. Insurrections soon sprang up on all sides, resulting in the loss of whole provinces, which now formed independent kingdoms. Prominent among these was Jaunpur in Bengal, where Mahmud's own Vazír, Kwájah Jahán, founded a powerful monarchy. Jafar Khán followed his example in Gujarát under the title of Muzaffar Sháh; Diláwar Khán, in Málwah, and others elsewhere. In A.D. 1394, Nusrat Khán, a son of Fath Khán, and grandson of Fírúz, was proclaimed

Sultán by some powerful nobles in opposition to Mahmud; and remained for about three years in possession of the new capital of Fíruzábád, Mahmud retaining possession of Delhi. At length a powerful nobleman, named Mullú Ikbál Khán, having received and ruined Nusrat Khán, got possession of the person of Mahmud, and carried on the government in his name.

§ 68. In A.D. 1398, the storm of the invasion of Timúr broke on Delhi. He was the leader of the Túrkí and Mughul hordes that had subdued all Central and Western Asia. He is sometimes called Tamerlane by European writers. His chief cities were Bukhará and Samarkhand. On the defeat of the Indian army, the surrender and subsequent merciless sack of Delhi followed; and for five days, the Mughul conqueror continued feasting, while his troops plundered and destroyed the hapless citizens of the ill-fated capital. For two months after the departure of Timúr, the city remained in a state of complete anarchy; then Nusrat Khán obtained possession of it for a short time; and finally it fell once more into the hands of Mullú Ikbál Khán.*

§ 69. The latter was soon joined by the Sultán Mahmúd, who had taken refuge in Gujarát. On a war breaking out between Ikbál Khán and the Sultán of Jaunpur, Mahmúd deserted to Jaunpur; but was subsequently settled by consent of both belligerents in the Kingdom of Kanaúj. After the death of Ikbál Khán, Mahmúd was brought back to Delhi by Daulat Khán Lodí and some other chiefs; and remained there, but without any real power, until his death in 1412 A.D., when the Tughlak dynasty became extinct.

§ 70. *Twenty-sixth king, A.D.* 1395.—Nusrat Sháh is included in the list of kings. His history is given above; we have no account of his end.

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* According to the Tarikh-Mubarak Shahí, the following is the list of the distribution of the empire after the departure of Timúr;—Mullú Ikbál Khán held Delhí and the Doáb; Zafar Khan (with whom the Sultán Mahmúd at first took refuge) Gujarát; Khizr Khán, Múltán, Daibalpur, Sind; Mahmúd Khán, Mahobah and Kalpi; Kwájah-i-Jahán, Kanauj, Oudh, Karrah, Dalmau, Sandila, Bharaich, Bihár, Jaunpur; Dilawar Khán, Dhar; Ghalib Khán, Samanah; Shams Khán, Bianah.

PART V.—THE SAYYID AND LODI DYNASTIES.

A.D. 1412—1526.

§ 71. Fifth Epoch. § 72. Daulat Khán Lodí. § 73. Khizr Khán, the first Sayyid. § 74. The Sayyid Mubárak. § 75. The Sayyid Muhammad. § 76. The Sayyid Alá-ud-dín. § 77. Buhlol Lodí. § 78. Sikandar Lodí. § 79. Ibráhím Lodí. § 80. End of the Afghán dynasties.

§ 71. The death of Mahmúd Tughlak brings us to the *Fifth Epoch* of the early Muhammadan history [*see* § 1].

§ 72. *Twenty-seventh king, A.D.* 1412—1414.—On the death of Mahmúd, the notables of Delhi elected DAULAT KHAN LODI to be their leader. He never assumed the insignia of royalty; but ruled much in the same way as Mullú Ikbál Khán had ruled in Mahmúd's time, except that Daulat Khán had no living nominal suzerain. He issued money bearing the name of Fírúz Sháh, or one of his successors; a curious affectation which was continued under the Sayyids, and which is exactly analogous to the issue, in later times, by the English, of sicca rupees bearing the name and date of Sháh Alam. Daulat Khán was at length conquered by Khizr Khán, the Governor whom Tímur had left in Multán.

§ 73. *Twenty-eighth king, A.D.* 1414—1441.—KHIZR KHAN (the first of the Sayyid dynasty) had been governor of Multán under Fírúz Sháh; and, siding with Timúr in his invasion, had been allowed by that conqueror to retain possession of his government. His inglorious reign of seven years at Delhi was spent in idleness and luxury; his Vazír Taj-ul-Mulk, in the meanwhile, vainly endeavouring to extend the authority of the Imperial Court. The virtues of this excellent minister have been erroneously assigned by many historians to his master.

§ 74. *Twenty-ninth king, A.D.* 1421—1433.—Muizz-ud-dín MUBARAK SHAH II., succeeded on the death of his father. There is, however, but little of interest to be found in the thirteen years of incessant provincial warfare of this reign. There were some successful campaigns in Rohilkhand; but Mubárak was continually harassed by the Gakkhars in the Panjáb, and by Mughul raids organised by Sháh Rukh's Governor of Kabul. Mubárak was murdered by some Hindú assassins at the instigation of his Vazír, Sarwar-ul-Mulk, himself a Hindú.

§ 75. *Thirtieth king, A.D.* 1433—1443.—MUHAMMAD bin Farid a grandson of Khizr Khán, and nephew of the murdered king, was immediately proclaimed by the Vazír. The latter proceeded to appropriate the royal treasures and to carry on the government as he liked; but some nobles rose against him and besieged him in Sirí (a part of Delhi); and in a conflict between a band of assassins (sent by him to murder the Sultán) and some loyal adherents of Muhammad, the Vazír was slain.

For a short time Muhammad ruled well and with energy; but he soon relapsed into indolence and dissipation. The Sultán of Jaunpur seized some of his dominions; and Mahmúd Khiljí, king of Málwah, even attacked the capital itself. Muhammad was relieved from his difficulties by Buhlol Lodí, governor of Láhor, who, however, subsequently turned his arms against his nominal suzerain—though with no immediate success.

§ 76. *Thirty-first king, A.D.* 1443—1450.—Alam Sháh, better known as ALA-UD-DIN bin Muhammad, succeeded on the death of his father; but was not acknowledged by the all-powerful Buhlol Lodí, who made another unsuccessful attempt upon Delhi. The Sultán now withdrew his court to Budáon. His Vazír, Hamid Khán, falling into disgrace, fled to Delhi from Budáon; and treacherously opened the gates of that capital to Buhlol Lodí. Shortly afterwards, Alam Sháh agreed to resign the empire to the latter, on condition of being allowed to live in peace at Budáon. Thus ended the dynasty of the Sayyids. [For the meaning of the word *Sayyid*, *see* Introduction, § 18.]

§ 77. *Thirty-second king, A.D.* 1458—1488.—The vigorous rule of the Afghán, BUHLOL LODI, forms a strong contrast to the weakness of his immediate predecessors. With energy and success he reduced his local governors to submission. A prolonged war of twenty-six years with the kings of Jaunpur, with varying success, ultimately terminated in the complete annexation of that kingdom; and the Sultán placed his own son Bárbak in charge of the government. At his death in 1488, his authority was acknowledged from the Panjáb to Bengal.

§ 78. *Thirty-third king, A.D.* 1488—1517.—Nizám had been nominated the heir to the crown by his father Buhlol; and

he accordingly ascended the imperial *masnad* with the title of SIKANDAR SHAH, though not without some opposition from his elder brother Bárbak. The latter had been assigned the throne of Jaunpur, at the time when the old Sultán divided his dominions; and he now refused to have the *Khutbah* or public prayer recited in Jaunpur in the name of his younger brother. War broke out in which Bárbak was defeated, but he was subsequently forgiven and restored to his government. During the succeeding years the Sultán was occupied in the subjugation of Sultán Sharf, which was completed by the capture of his stronghold of Biánah, and in the suppression of two formidable insurrections in Jaunpur and Oudh. In A.D. 1491, Sikandar conquered the whole of Bihár; dispossessing Hussain, the last of the former royal line of Jaunpur who took refuge with Alá-ud-dín, king of Bengal [*see* § 89]. With the last-named monarch he concluded a treaty, settling boundaries and other questions of rights. In A.D. 1503, the Sultán for the first time fixed his residence at Agra; which from this time was to supersede Delhí as the capital of Hindústán. Sikandar's reign was disgraced by an unusual display of bigotry, evidenced principally in a persevering destruction of Hindú temples, on the sites of which were raised Muslim mosques.

§ 79. *Thirty-fourth king, A.D.* 1517—1526.—IBRAHIM succeeded his father Sikandar. His arrogance disgusted many of the nobles, especially those of his own tribe of Lodí, who speedily sought to reduce his power by placing his brother Jalál on the throne of Jaunpur The latter, finding that his position was not a very secure one, and that his adherents were not to be trusted, determined on bold measures; and endeavoured to oust his brother, proclaiming himself Sultán under the title of Jalál-ud-dín. After some temporary successes, he was captured and put to death.

The cruelties practised by Ibráhím on the suppression of this rebellion caused a general hostility to him. The viceroy of Bihár assumed independence; Daulat Lodí, the governor of some of the dependencies of the Panjáb, then rebelled, and called in the aid of Bábar and his Moghuls. Bábar had already, in A.D. 1524, obtained possession of Lahor. The first expedition against Ibráhím led by his own uncle Alá-ud-dín, brother of Sikandar, was unsuccess-

ful; but Bábar soon followed in person, and Ibráhím lost his kingdom and his life at the celebrated battle of PANIPAT, on the 7th of Rajab A.H. 932. This is known in history as the First Battle of Panipat, A D. 1526.

§ 80. Thus ended the last of the pre-Mughul dynasties of Delhi. These dynasties have been called the *Pathán*, or the *Afghán* kings of Delhi; but most of them were not Afghán but Túrkí (Tatar) in their origin.

PART VI.—OTHER STATES OF HINDUSTAN DURING THE EARLY MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

§ 81. Rivals of the Delhi Empire. § 82. Bakhtiár Khiljí founds a Kingdom in Bengal. § 83. General Character of the Bengal History. § 84. Successors of Bakhtiár Khiljí. § 85. Tughral. § 86. The Balbani Dynasty. § 87. Hájí Ilías establishes the Independence of Bengal. § 88. His Successors. § 89. Bengal ultimately conquered by the Mughuls. § 90. History of Jaunpur. § 91. Gujarát. § 92. Málwah. § 93. Maiwár.

§ 81. In our account of the early Muhammadan dynasties of Delhi, we have noticed occasionally that these monarchs came in contact at various times with other sovereigns both of Hindústán and of the Deccan; it will be well for the student to obtain a somewhat more connected view of the history of some of these States. Those of the Deccan have been noticed in Chapter I., Part XV.; or will be noticed in the fourth chapter. Some of the rival States of Hindústán also (*e.g.*, Maiwár) have been noticed in the first chapter, as purely Hindú States. With the exception of Maiwár, however, all those dynasties of which we are going to give a short account, were Muhammadan; and were often merely rebellious off-shoots of the Delhi Empire. They are those of Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarát and Málwah.

§ 82. *Bengal.* When Muhammad Ghori had so far settled his conquest in Hindústán as to be able to leave them to his viceroy Kutb-ud-dín and to return to Ghazní, his other lieutenants in the various outlying provinces tried to extend the frontiers of Islám beyond the limits already acquired. One of these, named Muhammad Bakhtíár Khiljí, was Sipahsálár (commander of the forces) in Oudh. He in A.D. 1203 pushed his conquests southward; and

expelling the ancient Hindú dynasty [the Sens, *see* Chap. I., § 85] of Nadiya (Nuddea), he acquired the kingdom of Bengal in almost independent sovereignty, though he continued to acknowledge the nominal suzerainty of Muhammad. He fixed his capital at Lakhnautí or Gaur; and the throne thus founded, lasted with varying fortune and under sovereigns of various families, until its final extinction under Akbar [*see* Chapter III., § 35].

§ 83. Up to the time of the Emperor Fírúz Sháh III., in A.D. 1353, the fortunes of this dynasty were closely connected with those of the imperial crown of Delhi; and have been occasionally noticed in the preceding sections of this chapter. Generally the same ruler was lord of the whole of Bengal; sometimes the power was contested between the lords of two or more of the various capitals, Lakhnautí or Gaur, Sunárganw, Sátganw, Pandua, &c. Lakhnautí was generally the capital of the western division, and Sunárganw (near the present site of Dacca) of the eastern division, of the province. Sometimes the Bengal Kings were altogether independent; generally, however, they were coerced into a more or less strict feudal submission; and sometimes they were themselves the sons or near relatives of the Delhi monarch, ruling as his viceroys.

From the time of Fírúz Sháh III. to that of Akbar, the Kingdom of Bengal was virtually independent except in the time of Sher Sháh.

§ 84. The successors of Bakhtiár Khiljí were forced by Altamsh [*see* § 26] to submit to Delhi; and Násir-ud-dín, the eldest son of the latter, was made Viceroy, in A.D. 1227. He died during the lifetime of Altamsh; and was succeeded by a younger brother of the same name, who became the Emperor Násir-ud-dín [*see* § 31].

§ 85. Tughral, who was governor during the latter part of the reign of Balban, assumed independence. His revolt was suppressed [*see* § 33]; and Bughrá Khán, son of Balban, was appointed Viceroy.

§ 86. The eldest son of Bughrá Khán succeeded to the throne of Delhi as the Emperor Kaikubád [*see* § 35]; his second son, Kai Káús, succeeded him in Bengal, and the family remained in possession of the throne for several reigns.

One of the grandsons of Bughrá Khán (named Shahab-ud-dín) submitted to Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak; and the other, named Bahádúr Sháh, King of Sunárganw, was carried prisoner to Delhi [*see* § 54]. Bahádúr was reinstated by Muhammad bin Tughlak; but again revolting, was defeated and slain by the imperial forces, and his stuffed skin was sent about the country as a warning to refractory governors.

§ 87. Almost immediately after this atrocity, Fakr-ud-dín Mubárak Sháh proclaimed his independence in Sunárganw; but great anarchy prevailed; and it was not until Shams-ud-dín Iliás, commonly called Hájí Iliás, checked the arms of Fírúz Sháh in A.D. 1353, that Bengal became really independent.

§ 88. The dynasty of Hájí Iliás reigned, with some interruptions, for more than a century At one time a Hindú dynasty, founded by Rájá Ganesa (called by the Musalmán writers *Kans*) of Dinájpur, obtained power for a short time. At a latter period, Bengal was ruled by a short-lived dynasty of Abyssinian slaves; and the succession was much broken in the latter part of the 15th, and the beginning of the 16th centuries.

§ 89. Sultán Alá-ud-dín, a Sayyid, succeeded the Abyssinians in 1489. He gave an asylum to the unfortunate Husain Sháh of Jaunpur, when the latter was defeated by Buhlol Lodí of Delhi; but subsequently was compelled to make an alliance with Sikandar Lodí. Two of his sons reigned after him; the last, Mahmúd Sháh, was expelled by Sher Sháh, in 1538; and though restored by Humáyún, he died shortly afterwards.

Members of the family of Sher Sháh ruled in Bengal until 1564; when Sulaimán Sháh, of the Kararánf clan of Afgháns, obtained the throne. He made peace with Akbar's general Munim Khán. The subjugation of Sulaimán's son, Dáud, by Akbar and his generals, is narrated in Chapter III., § 35.

§ 90. *Jaunpur.*—We now turn to the history of Jaunpur. The Vazír of the Emperor Mahmúd Tughlak, named Kwájah Jahán, was appointed Governor of Jaunpur with the title *Malikus-Sharq*. In 1393 he asserted his independence; and the dynasty thus founded, and usually called the *Sharkí* dynasty, lasted until its suppression by Buhlol Lodí in 1474. Ibráhím Sháh Sharkí came

to the throne in 1401; in his reign the kingdom became very powerful, and Jaunpur became a magnificent city. His wars with Ikbál Khán (in which Máhmúd was concerned) have been noticed in § 69. Ibráhím's son, Mahmúd, succeeded in A.D. 1440. He attacked Delhí, which was under the weak rule of the two last Sayyids; but was repulsed by Buhlol Lodí. When the latter came to the throne of Delhi, he attacked Jaunpur, defeated Hussain Sháh in 1474, and settled his son Bárbak as Viceroy in the capital.

§ 91. *Gujarát.* Owing their existence to the feebleness of the successors of Fírúz Sháh, were the Muhammadan dynasties of Gujarát and Málwah (Mándú). Zafar Khán was appointed governor of Gujarát by Muhammad bin Fírúz; and eventually assumed independence, under the title of Muzaffar Sháh, in A.D. 1390. Ahmad Sháh, the grandson of this prince, founded Ahmadábád and Ahmadnagar, about A.D. 1420. Muzaffar Sháh II., who came to the throne in 1511, is celebrated for his contests with the famous Ráná Sangá of Maiwár [*see* § 93]. Bahádúr Sháh in 1531 conquered and annexed Málwah; and after many contests with the Delhí troops was at last put to death by the Portuguese at Diu. The kingdom was finally annexed to Akbar's dominions in A.D. 1571.

§ 92. *Málwah.* The dynasty of Málwah was founded by Diláwar Khán *Ghori* in A.D. 1401. He had been appointed governor by Fírúz Tughlak in 1387; deserting Ujjain, the ancient Hindú capital, he set up his residence at Dhar, and declared himself king. His son Alp Khán, who succeeded him under the name of Húshang, founded and strongly fortified Mándú. In 1435, the Ghorí dynasty was put aside, and a Khiljí substituted for it; and under Máhmúd, the first of the Khiljí princes, the Muslim State of Málwah was at its zenith. At this period its boundaries embraced the cities of Chanderí, Islámábád, Hushangábád, and Kirlah (the capital of Gondwána); extending on the south to the Sátpura range, on the west to the frontier of Gujarát, and on the east to Bundelkhand; while northwards the limits were marked by Maiwár and Hárauti, with occasional tribute from Chitor. Málwah was at length conquered and annexed by Bahádúr Sháh of Gujarát, in 1531 [*see* § 91].

§ 93. *Maiwár.* The Rájpút State of Maiwár, ruled over by a dynasty of *Gehlot* Rájpúts, rose into temporary importance during the weak reigns of the successors of Fírúz Sháh; and was only suppressed by the greater vigour of the Mughuls who followed them. The representative of the Gehlot kings of Maiwár at the present day is the Maháráná of Udaipur; who is reckoned as the noblest of the princes of India, and bears amongst other hereditary titles that of "the sun of the Hindús."

The capital of his ancestors (who were said to be descended from Ráma) was Vallabhí in Gujarát, whence they were expelled by an invasion of Persians [*see* Chapter I., § 83]. The Vallabhi prince Goha married a daughter of Naushirván, the Persian king; she was a grand-daughter of Maurice, the Christian Emperor of Constantinople. From Rájá Goha was descended Rajá Bápú, who is said to have resisted Muhammad Kásim [*see* § 4]. The decendant of Bápú, in A.D. 1440, was Ráná Khumbo of Maiwár; who in that year defeated the combined forces of Málwah and Gujarát, and captured Mahmud Khiljí, the king of Málwah. The splendid *Jaya Stambha*, or "Pillar of Victory," still to be seen at Chítor, commemorates this victory.

The grandson of Khumbo, the celebrated Ráná Sangá, was finally defeated by Bábar at Fathpur Sikri in 1527 [*see* Chapter III., § 7]. Another struggle for empire was made by the Rájpúts against Akbar, under Udai Singh; terminated by the sack of Chítor in 1567.

PART VII.—MUHAMMADAN LITERATURE.

§ 94. Character of the Muhammadan Literature. § 95. Firishtah. § 96. Abul Fazl. § 97. Faizi. § 98. Ibn Batutah. § 99. Kháfí Khán. § 100. Other Historians. § 101. Poets.

§ 94. Whilst the sacred canon of the Muhammadans was in Arabic, the bulk of their general literature has been written in Persian.

A remarkable change in the character of the literature of India is observable at the time of the Muhammadan invasions. At this period, for the first time, we obtain numerous and valuable *historical* works. This taste for historical literature was inherited

from the Arabs by the Indian Muhammadans. The Arabs had been, during the latter part of the Dark Ages in Europe, the chief cultivators of science; and Arabic literature had at a very early period attained a high stage of development. The Persian literature of India was largely indebted to the scholarship of the Arabs. It will be sufficient for our present purpose, if we notice a few of the chief historians and poets, authors of the most famous works, both during the period of which we have treated in this chapter, and during the Mughul period.

§ 95. The most celebrated historian of India was FIRISHTAH, who was born at Ahmadnagar about A.D. 1570. He lived at the court of Ibráhím Adil Sháh II., of Bíjápur, from A.D. 1589 to about 1612; and to that monarch he dedicated his great work, the *Tarikh Firishtah*. This is a general history of India, commencing A.D. 975, and terminating with 1605. It was translated into English by Dow; and has been the foundation of the history of the Muhammadan period in India, as given in most standard English works.

§ 96. Hardly less celebrated are the works of ABUL FAZL, the prime-minister of Akbar [*see* Chap. III., § 54]. Of these the two most important are:—(1) the *Ain-i-Akbari*, or *Institutes* of Akbar, containing a minute account of every department of government, of every part of the Empire, and of everything connected with the Emperor's establishments, public and private; (2) the *Akbar Nameh*, a copious but very adulatory history of the Emperor Akbar during the first forty-seven years of his reign, to which is prefixed an abridged history of his ancestors.

§ 97. The brother of Abul Fazl, named FAIZI, was also a very learned man and a great writer. He especially devoted his attention to Sanskrit literature; and translated into Persian many great Sanskrit works, including the Mahábhárata.

§ 98. In 1341, an African traveller, named IBN BATUTAH, visited Delhi. He was received with great respect, and appointed to the office of judge by the king Muhammad bin Tughlak [*see* § 55]. Seeing, however, some evidence of Muhammad's capricious and cruel temper, he resigned his office. The king, without taking offence, attached him to an embassy to China, and thus honour-

ably dismissed him. His *Travels* (which have been translated into English and French) contain very valuable accounts of India.

§ 99. The chief historian of the later Mughul period was Mír Muhammad, better known as KHAFI KHAN. Aurangzeb [*see* Chap. III., § 84], strictly ordered that no history should be written; but Mír Muhammad wrote his history in secret during the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign (about A.D. 1700); and hence obtained the title Kháfí Khán (*the concealed*).

§ 100. There are many other historians, to whose works (some in Arabic, but mostly in Persian) we need only briefly allude. Sultán BABAR wrote *Memoirs* of his own life which are most graphic and interesting. They were originally written in Túrkí, but were translated into Persian. Utbi wrote the *Tarikh Yamíné*, the history of the period of Sabaktigín and his great successor Mahmud. Hasan Nizám wrote the *Taj-ul-maasír*, memoirs of the lives of Muhammad Ghori, Kutb-ud-dín, and Altamsh. It was written at Delhi about the year 1210; it is partly in verse, and contains much Arabic. A more important history is that of MINHAJ-US-SIRAJ, whose work, the *Tabakát-i-Nasirí*, is the most trustworthy authority for the history contained in the present chapter down to the accession of Balban. Two valuable histories of the later part of the period described in the present chapter, are both called Tarikh-i-Fírúz-Sháhí,—one being written by ZIA-UD-DIN BARNI, the other by SHAMS-I-SIRAJ AFIF. Other historians are Abdul-Kadir BADAONI and Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, who wrote in the time of Akbar; Muatimad Khán, who wrote the *Jahángír Námeh*; Muhammad bin Saleh, who wrote the *Shah-Jahán-Námeh*; Mirzá Muhammad Kásim who wrote the *Alamgir-Námeh*; and Sayyid-Ghulám Husain Khán, a relative of the Nawáb Alivirdi Khán (*see* Chap. VII., § 35), who wrote a history of the eighteenth century in Hindústán in the year 1783.

§ 101. Amongst many others, we may mention three very famous Muhammadan poets of India: Ferdausi, Ansarí and Amír Khusrau.

ANSARI and FERDAUSI were both ornaments of the court of Mahmúd of Ghazní. The latter has been called the "Persian Homer;" he wrote the *Sháh-Námeh* in praise of Mahmúd.

AMIR KHUSRAU was one of the illustrious literary exiles who fled from Persia to the Court of Balban to avoid the Mughuls. He wrote an immense amount of poetry, some of which has been considered very beautiful; two of his most celebrated Poems are (1) on the loves of Khizr Khán and Dewál Deví [*see* § 47], and (2) on the meeting between the Emperor Kaikubád and his father Bughrá Khán [*see* § 35].

CHAPTER III.

THE MUGHUL EMPERORS.

PART I.—BABAR, A.D. 1526—1530.

§ 1. Accession of the Mughuls § 2. The Mughul Emperors. § 3. Bábar's descent and early life. § 4. First Battle of Pánipat. § 5. State of India. § 6. Conquest of Hindústán. § 7. Sangá. § 8. Conquest of Bihár and Bengal. § 9. Death of Bábar. § 10. His character.

§ 1. As we have already related, Bábar and his Mughuls conquered Ibráhím Lodí, the last of the Páthan Kings of Delhi in the FIRST BATTLE OF PANIPAT, A.D. 1526; but the Mughul dynasty was not firmly established on the throne of Hindústán until the second battle of Pánipat, thirty years later, in 1556. During the greater part of the nominal reign of Humáyún, the son of Bábar, he was in exile, and a powerful dynasty of the old Afghán race was ruling at Delhi.

§ 2. The present chapter will trace the history of the great Mughul dynasty. The first six Emperors were all great and powerful monarchs, from Bábar to the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. During the reigns of the second six Emperors, from Bahádúr Sháh to the death of Muhammad Sháh in 1748, the power of the Empire was declining, mainly owing to the attacks of the Mahrattas. The thirteenth Emperor Ahmad Sháh, and his successors, were usually sovereigns only in name; and the last of the line of Bábar, who in 1857 abetted the mutineers, paid the penalty of his crimes by dying as a prisoner in a distant land beyond the sea.

§ 3. Bábar was descended, by the father's side, from Tímúr (Tamerlane) the Tatár; but his mother was a Mughul connected with the tribe of Changiz Khán. Different members of Tímúr's family held Samarkhand, Bukhára, Balkh (Bactria), Kábul, and Kokhand (then called Farghánah). This last was Bábar's hereditary dominion. His life, till A.D. 1524, was a succession of struggles;

in the course of which he sometimes extended his sway as far as to Kandahár, and sometimes was a fugitive; thrice occupying his paternal city of Samarkhand, and thrice expelled from it.

§ 4. His uncertain tenure of power in the regions of Central Asia caused him to turn his attention to India, which had now for some time been in a state of anarchy; the Lodís possessing little beyond Delhi and Agra. By one of the revolted chiefs, Daulat Khán Lodí, the viceroy of the Panjáb, he was invited to seize upon Hindústán, which he considered to be his inheritance, as he was descended from the conqueror Tímúr. It was not until after four unsuccessful expeditions (1519—26) that he gained his end; and even then, the battle of Panipát [Chap. II., § 79] gave him nothing but the small tract around Delhi and Agra. From the spoils of Agra he sent a coin of the value of about ten pence to every man, woman, and child, slave or free, in the district of Kábul, where he had reigned; besides rich gifts to the chief Muhammadan shrines in Asia.

§ 5. The other parts of the Empire were still held by revolted chieftains. From the time of Muhammad Tughlak (1351), there had been no real empire of Delhi [Chap. II., § 56]. Thus, Bihár was in the possession of Muhammad Sháh Lohání; a part of Málwah and the surrounding districts were held by Sangá; Chanderi and the adjacent country by Mední Rái; and Bengal by Nazíb Sháh, son of the Sayyíd Sultán Alá-ud-dín [*see* Chap. II., § 89]. The Deccan, which had been independent since 1347, was now divided into five Musalmán kingdoms, besides the Hindú kingdom of Bijanagar, called by Europeans *Narsingha* [Chap. IV., § 11]. The Portuguese had conquered Goa in A.D. 1510; and though the great Albuquerque had died in A.D. 1515, they were still very powerful on the western coast [Chap. VI., § 11].

§ 6. The troops of Bábar believed that he intended, after plundering Agra and Delhi, to leave India again, as his ancestor Tímúr had done. But Bábar himself had determined to found a Tatár Empire in the conquered country; and accordingly, his son the Prince Humáyún, was now sent against the various Musalman chieftains of Hindústán. In four months the prince reduced the whole country to obedience, as far as Jaunpur.

§ 7. Turning westward, the Mughuls found more formidable enemies in the Hindú princes of Rájpútána; of whom Sangá, Ráná of Maiwár, was now the chief [*see* Chap. II., § 93]. The Rájás of Márwár and Jaipur had joined him, and also Medni Rái of Chanderi. Sangá had formerly intrigued against the Lodís; and now resolved to expel, if possible, the Musalmána from India. He was, however, utterly defeated in the decisive battle of Fathpur Sikri, 1527; and the storming of Chanderi (January 1528) firmly established the Mughul throne. The defenders of this last fortress perished to a man in the desperate struggle. Thus fell Medni, who was next to Sangá as a Rájpút leader.

§ 8. Bihár and Bengal were next attacked; and by May 1529, these provinces had submitted to Bábar's arms.

§ 9. Bábar's death is remarkable. Humáyún, his eldest son, was dangerously ill; when Bábar conceived the idea of offering his own life for his son's, according to a well-known eastern custom. In the accomplishment of this loving resolve, he walked round the bed of the sick youth three times, praying solemnly to God that the disease might be transferred to himself. After this act, he exclaimed, in the full belief that his prayer was heard, "I have borne it away." And strange to say, Humáyún recovered from that hour; while the father, whose health was already decaying, began rapidly to decline. With exhortations on his lips to his children and courtiers, that they should live in concord, he died December 26th, 1530. His remains were carried to Kábul, where a simple but beautiful tomb was erected to his memory.

§ 10. His character is a mixed one. He inherited somewhat of the ferocity of his Tatár ancestors, and was inhuman in his treatment of conquered enemies. Yet there is a simplicity and absence of affectation in his character, that excites the sympathies of all who read his *Memoirs*, which he wrote himself, and which are models of easy elegance, giving the liveliest picture of the man. His undaunted bravery, patience in adversity, perseverance, and elasticity of mind, are truly admirable.

PART II.—HUMAYUN'S FIRST REIGN. A.D. 1530—1540.

§ 11. Humáyún. § 12. His Brothers. § 13. War with Bahádúr Sháh of Gujarát. § 14. Defeated by Sher Súr. § 15. Again defeated at Kanauj. § 16. Humáyún in Persia. § 17. Dissensions amongst the brothers.

§ 11. The second Mughul Emperor was Humáyún. He reigned nominally from A.D. 1530 to 1556; but spent nearly sixteen years of this period (1540—1556) in exile, whilst the Afghán dynasty of Súr ruled Hindústán.

§ 12. He had three brothers, Kámrán, Hindál, and Mírzá Askarí. To the first he rashly gave up Kábul, Kandahár, the Panjáb, and the countries on the Indus. Sambhal, east of Delhi, was given to Hindál; and Mewát to the youngest. His generosity, or weakness, thus stripped him of his fairest dominions. Humáyún, in fact, had nothing but newly-conquered territory to govern, and only his father's veteran army and renown to support him.

§ 13. Bahádúr Sháh of Gujarát (1526—1537, *see* Chap. II., § 91) was his first antagonist. Gujarát had long been independent; but Bahádúr Sháh was the most powerful monarch that ever governed it. Khándesh, Barár, and Ahmednagar had acknowledged him as their feudal superior. He had conquered and annexed Málwah. Humáyún, irritated at his harbouring some fugitive rebels, attacked him and wrested from him a great part of his dominions. He regained all in the following year. In the course of the war, Humáyún, with only 300 followers, scaled the walls of the fortress of Champánír, where the treasures of Bahádúr were deposited.

§ 14. The next antagonist was Sher Khán, an Afghán of the Súr family, who now held Bihár and Bengal, which he had conquered. Humáyún made several expeditions against him, and at length laid siege to Chunár and took it. Sher Khán was himself engaged in completing the conquest of Bengal at the time. Humáyún advanced as far as Gaur. Meanwhile the rains came on; nothing could be done in Bengal, and Sher Khán, issuing from his retreat in the hill fortress of Rahtás, retook the cities and forts on the Ganges, and surprised Humáyún between Patna and Benares. The emperor had only time to leap on horseback, and plunge into the stream; in which he would have been drowned, had he not

been rescued by a water-carrier. He thus reached Agra almost alone. His brothers had been plotting against him; but they now aided him to prepare for the approach of the victorious Sher Sháh.

§ 15. He sustained another decisive defeat near Kanaúj, and was compelled to flee to Kámrán at Láhor; but Kámrán himself had retired to Kábul, and Humáyún now fled to Sind. There he wandered for a year and a half, and at length directed his course to Márwár. Repulsed from thence, he made his way across the desert to Amarkot, where he arrived with seven companions, after enduring unspeakable hardships. Here a son, Akbar, was born. Deserted by his brothers, Humáyún pursued his flight and reached Persia, 1544. In April 1543, his faithful general, Bairám Khán, who had escaped from the battle of Kanaúj, joined him. The infant Akbar was sent to Kandahár.

§ 16. The Persian Sháh Tahmásp did not treat him generously, but used every unworthy expedient to induce him to become a Shíah as the Persians were, and to introduce that system hereafter into India.

NOTE.—The *Shiah* and *Sunni* are the two great sects into which the Muhammadans are divided.

At length, however, he gave him 14,000 horsemen to aid in restoring him to his kingdom. Thus aided, he took Kandahár and Kábul. It is said that during the siege of the latter place, Kámrán exposed the young Akbar on the walls, threatening to put him to death, if Humáyún should persist in the siege. Humáyún seems to have behaved inhumanly, in slaughtering the prisoners.

§ 17. In 1548, the four brothers, Humáyún, Hindál, Kámrán, and Mirzá Askarí were reconciled; but Kámrán, ever treacherous, again rebelled, and was at length defeated and blinded (1553). These dissensions weakened the cause of the house of Tímúr; but in 1555 Humáyún was in a condition to attempt to regain his Indian dominions.

PART III.—THE RESTORED AFGHANS, OR SUR DYNASTY. HUMAYUN'S RETURN. A.D. 1540—1556.

§ 18. Sher Sháh. § 19. Islám Sháh. § 20. Muhammad Adil Sháh. § 21. Ibráhím Súr and Sikandar Súr. § 22. Return and death of Humáyún. § 23. His character.

§ 18. After the defeat of Humáyún at the battle of Kanaúj, Sher Súr, the Afghán chief of Bengal, became the ruler of Hindústán. He is often called a usurper by Indian historians, but his claim to the throne was at least as good as Humáyún's; for he was descended from the ancient Afghán conquerors, was a native of India, and had expelled the Mughuls who had only reigned fourteen years. In his government of the empire he was wise, active, and benevolent. This good character, however, he sullied by the treacherous and cruel massacre of the garrison of Raisín in Malwáh—a fortress which had surrendered to him on the express condition that the lives of its defenders should be spared. He subsequently fought a successful battle against Rájá Maldeo of Márwár, when Chítor submitted to his arms.

He was killed at the siege of Kálinjar in Bundelkhand, A.D. 1545. He is said to have made a road from Bengal to the bank of the Indus, with a caravanserai at every stage, and wells at intervals of a mile and a half. His tomb is to be seen at Sahsarám, between the Ganges and the Son.

§ 19. The second of this restored dynasty was Islám Sháh, A.D. 1545—1552. He seems to have possessed great ability, and to have laboured for the improvement of the country.

§ 20. Islám Sháh's son was murdered by a nephew of Sher Sháh, named Muhammand Adil Sháh, who is the third of the restored dynasty. He was a despicable tyrant. His Vazír was Himú, a Hindú of low origin, but of great ability.

§ 21. Rebellions soon ensued, and the empire was divided into five portions, under rivals—members of the Afghán royal family (1555). Ibráhím Súr, Adil's cousin and brother-in-law, obtained possession of Delhi and Agra, compelling Adil Sháh to confine himself to the eastern portions of his dominions. Whence Ibráhím is sometimes called the fourth monarch of his dynasty.

No sooner, however, had Ibráhím seated himself on the throne of Delhi, than he was driven out by another of the rivals, named Sikandar Sháh, a nephew of Sher Sháh; and in this way Sikandar is commonly called the fifth monarch of the Súr dynasty.

But it should be noticed that both Ibráhím and Sikandar were merely rebels, temporarily successful against the power of Adil Sháh.

§ 22. At this time Humáyún, his brothers having joined him or been reduced to obedience, determined to invade India. He soon gained possession of Láhor; and, driving Sikandar Súr to the Himálayas, regained Agra and Delhi. He had, however, recovered at his death but a very small portion of his dominions; for Sikandar soon re-appeared in the Panjáb, and Himú, with the army of Adil Sháh, was in Bengal. While Prince Akbar, then thirteen years of age, was in the Panjáb with Bairám Khán, Humáyún fell from the stairs leading to the top of his palace, and was killed. He had paused on the steps, hearing the Muezzin's call to prayer, and seated himself. When trying to rise, assisted by his staff, he fell on the polished stair, and there being only a low parapet, fell headlong over. He died in a few days, six months after his return (1556).

§ 23. He was superstitious, kindly-hearted on the whole, indulgent, very dilatory in all his movements, and too incessantly occupied in warfare to be able to do anything for the good of India. He is famous for his generosity and for the misfortunes which were partly caused by it; for the fortitude with which he bore his adversities, and the bravery by which he at length overcame them.

PART IV.—AKBAR. A.D. 1556—1605.

§ 24. Akbar. § 25. His early life. § 26. His succession disputed § 27. Bairám Khán. § 28. Defeat of Himú at Pánipat. § 29. Bairám, Regent. § 30. His fall. § 31. Akbar alone. § 32. Insurrections of nobles. § 33. The Rájpúts. § 34. Conquest of Gujarát. § 35. Conquest of Bihár, Bengal and Orissa. § 36. Settlement of the Panjáb and Kabúl. § 37. Conquest of Kashmir. § 38. War against the Yúsufzais. § 39. Annexation of Sind. § 40. And of Kandahár. § 41. Extent of Akbar's dominions in Hindústán. § 42. He turns to the Deccan. § 43. Siege of

Ahmadnagar. § 44. Chánd Bibí. § 45. Akbar's conquest of Ahmadnagar. § 46. Annexation of Khándesh. § 47. Extent of Akbar's dominions in the Deccan. § 48. Akbar's Sons. § 49. Intrigues about the succession. § 50. Death of Akbar. § 51. Akbar's character and personal peculiarities. § 52. His religion. § 53. His policy. § 54. His financial and military reforms.

§ 24. The Third Mughul Emperor was Akbar (1556—1605): and under him the Mughuls recovered and largely extended the conquests of Bábar.

§ 25. He was born at Amarkot, in Sind, in 1542, while Humáyún was fleeing from the ambition of Sher Sháh, and from the treachery of his brothers and his subjects. He fell into the hands of his uncle Kámrán, December 1543; and remained at Kandahár and Kábul till 1555.

§ 26. When Humáyún died, Akbar was thirteen years and four months old. Sikandar, with the title of king of Delhi and of the Panjáb, was in arms near Sarhind; and Himú, the general of Adil Sháh, was on the borders of Bengal.

§ 27. BAIRAM KHAN, a Persian Shíah who had aided Bábar in his early wars, and who had uniformly displayed the greatest ability and fidelity, was really the head of the Mughuls. He bore the title of "the king's guardian (*Ataliq*)," and was Regent for the young Akbar. An interesting story is told of the devotion to him of one of his followers named Abul Kásim, Governor of Gwálior. Bairám was flying from Sher Sháh; and was on his way to Gujarát, when he was intercepted by one of Sher Sháh's commanders. Abul Kásim was with him; and being a man of imposing stature, was mistaken for Bairám. The latter immediately stepped forward, and said "I am Bairám." "No," said Abul Kásim, "he is my attendant, and brave and faithful as he is, he wishes to sacrifice himself for me; so let him off." Abul Kásim was then killed, and Bairám escaped to the protection of the king of Gujarát.

§ 28. Himú, after an heroic resistance, was overthrown and captured at the battle of PANIPAT, November 5th, 1556; and from this epoch, the Second Battle of Pánipat, dates the thorough establishment of the Mughul power. Bairám slew the captive Himú with his own hand. Sikandar also soon after submitted.

§ 29. The regency of Bairám, owing to his firmness in administration and his great military ability, was remarkably successful; but he carried matters with a high hand as the *Ataliq* of the young Emperor, and became very obnoxious to the *Umaras* or grandees. Akbar himself was persuaded to assume the supreme power in his eighteenth year (A.D. 1560).

§ 30. At length Bairám, seeing his power gone, broke out into rebellion; but was soon overcome, and threw himself on the mercy of Akbar, who treated him with the utmost generosity and affection. Bairám now set out to visit Mecca, the Muhammadan way of retiring from public life; but was assassinated in Gujarát.

§ 31. The death of Bairám left Akbar alone at the head of affairs. He was a young man of the greatest courage, prudence, and self-restraint; and applied himself to his difficult task with combined modesty and confidence. His adherents were few, and as yet were strangers in the land; and he only possessed the Panjáb and the district around Delhi.

§ 32. Khán Zamán, one of Akbar's generals who had defeated a son of the late Afghán Emperor near Jaunpur; Báz Bahádúr, an Afghán officer, who had retained the government of Málwah; Adhám Khán, who had defeated Báz Bahádúr; Abdullah Khán, who had subsequently superseded Adhám Khán in Málwah; these, with Asaf Khán and some other generals of Akbar's own army, made war against the youthful Emperor. The revolt of the four sons of Sultán Mírzá, governor of Sambhal, who belonged to the royal family, was not finally suppressed until the annexation of Gujarát in 1573 [*see* § 34]. Akbar was almost exclusively engaged in similar wars against his nobles until his 25th year, A.D. 1567.

§ 33. The next five years (A.D. 1567—1572) were spent in reducing the Rájpúts to submission. The chief of these were:

(1). The Rájá of Jaipur (Amber) Bihári Mall. Akbar eventually married his daughter; and Salím (*Jahángír*), his eldest son, was married to another princess of the same family. This Rájá was the first who formed such an alliance. Rájá Bihári's son, Rájá Bhagaván Dás, Akbar's brother-in-law, was one of the most distin-

guished courtiers in this reign; and was appointed Amir-ul-Umará, and Governor of the Panjáb. Bhagaván's son, Rájá Mán Singh, was one of Akbar's best generals; and, as a commander of seven thousand, was of higher rank than any Muhammadan officer. He did good service in the Panjáb and Kábul; and, as Governor of Bengal, settled the affairs of that province, and put down the Afghán rebellions [*see* § 35].

(2.) The Ráná of Chítor (afterwards of Udaipur), Udai Singh, son of Ráná Sangá [*see* § 7]. Here there was an obstinate and bloody war, and Akbar was victorious. In 1580, Ráná Partáb (son of Udai Singh) regained a part of his dominions and founded Udaipur.

(3). The Ráná of Jodhpur or Márwár, was Maldeo. Akbar married his daughter *Jodh Bái*, and she became the mother of Jahángír, the future Emperor. The Muhammadan historian expresses a hope about Jodh Bái, "that God will receive her in His mercy; for Jahángír's mother, though a Hindú, could hardly be sent to hell." The Ránás of Udaipur alone refused all such imperial alliances, and despised the other Rájpút families for permitting them.

§ 34. Gujarát had been independent from 1391 [Chap. II., § 91]; but was now conquered. Bahádúr Sháh [§ 13] died in 1537. The dissensions that followed his death were so great that Akbar was requested to put an end to the anarchy by taking the kingdom, which after some severe fighting he did, A.D. 1573. Ahmadábád became the residency of a Múghul Viceroy of Gujárát, generally a prince of the blood royal. Muzaffar Sháh, the king, became one of Akbar's courtiers. He rebelled afterwards and committed suicide, A.D. 1593.

§ 35. Akbar's next conquest was that of Bihár, Bengal and Orissa. Munim Khán, the successor of Bairám Khán as Khán-Khánán, and Akbar's governor of Jaunpur, had extorted promises of submission from Sulaimán Kararáni, the Afghán chief of Bengal; but DAUD Khán, the son of Sulaimán, had asserted his independence. Akbar himself marched against him in 1574, and took from him Hájípur and Patna; leaving Munim Khán as governor of Bihá with orders to follow Dáúd into Bengal. Rájá Todar Mall, th

celebrated finance minister [*see* § 54] was the life and soul of this expedition; Dáúd was reduced to submission at the battle of *Mughulmárí*, near *Jaleswara* (Jellasor) in Orissa, and was allowed to retain possession of Katak (*Cuttack*).

Shortly afterwards, Dáúd again rebelled, and overran Bengal. Khán Jahán had succeeded Munim Khán (who had died of the effects of the climate of Gaur); and he, with Todar Mall as second in command, defeated and slew Dáúd at the battle of Akmahall, in A.D. 1576. Khán Jahán subsequently defeated the remnants of Dáúd's followers at Sátganw, near Hughli; and gradually conquered the whole of Bengal, before his death in A.D. 1578. Muzaffar Khán succeeded Khán Jahán; and in 1580 was defeated and killed by some rebellious Jágírdárs, who overran Bengal and Bihár. The great general Aziz (or Khán-i-Azam) was sent against the rebels, and subdued them; but in the meantime, the Afgháns of Orissa had risen under Katlu Khán. Aziz retired from the Government, leaving affairs unsettled; but Rájá Mán Singh [*see* § 33] who succeeded in 1589, compelled Isa (the guardian of Katlu Khán's sons) to acknowledge the Mughul supremacy. In 1592 A.D., he completely crushed the power of the Afgháns, who had again rebelled; and their last insurrection (in 1600 A.D., under Usmán Khán, son of Katlu Khán) was easily suppressed in Jahángír's reign, A.D. 1612. Thus disappeared the last remains of the Afghán power in Hindústán.

§ 36. About the year 1581, Akbar forced his brother Mírzá Hakím, of Kábul, who had invaded the Panjáb, to admit his feudal supremacy; and he made Rájá Bhagaván Dás of Jaipur the governor of the Panjáb.

§ 37. In 1586 followed the conquest of Kashmír. The emperor went there in person and defeated the chief, who became one of the Umarás of the Delhi Court.

§ 38. In the following year occurred a war with various Afghán tribes, on the Pesháwar frontier; such as the Yúsufzais and a fanatical sect called the Raushánís. These, in one instance, gained a victory over the imperial troops in which Rájá Bir Bar and 500 other officers of Akbar's army fell; but they were afterwards reduced to order by Zain Khán.

§ 39. Sind was conquered in 1592. The chief, whom he subdued, became a commander of 5,000 in the Mughul army, and was appointed governor of Tatta. This was the wise policy always adopted by Akbar; and we may see its good effects in the devotion of the Rájpúts to his cause.

§ 40. Kandahár was won from the Persians in 1594; its chief, Mírzá Muzaffar Husain, was made a *Panjhazári*, or commander of 5,000, by Akbár.

§ 41. Akbar's dominions now extended from Kábul, Kashmír, and Kandahár on the north, to the Narbaddah on the south.

§ 42. He now attempted the conquest of the Deccan, which had been so long independent of Delhi.

§ 43. In consequence of the dissensions in Ahmadnagar between the Hindú and Abyssinian nobles, Murád (second son of Akbar) and Mírzá Khán (son of Bairám Khán) were sent to take possession of the city, A. D. 1595.

§ 44. The city of Ahmadnagar was then in the hands of the celebrated Chánd Bíbí, the aunt of the infant Sultán, Bahádúr Nizám Sháh. She made peace with her father-in-law, the king of Bíjápur, conciliated the Abyssinian nobles, and defended the city with astonishing skill and bravery against Prince Murád, who was now pressing the siege. A breach was made in the wall, and the defenders were on the point of giving up the city, when the Sultána appeared in full armour, veiled, with a drawn sword in her hand; and standing in the breach she renewed the struggle, which ended at night-fall by the withdrawal of the Mughul armies. The dawn beheld the breach thoroughly repaired, and the queen regent, who had not quitted her post, ready to meet the assailants. But Murád abandoned the siege, and a peace was concluded.

§ 45. Akbar in 1599 arrived in person at Burhánpur. Daulatábád had been taken, and Prince Dányál (Akbar's third son), with Mírzá Khán, was sent on again to besiege Ahmadnagar. Chánd Bíbí had been murdered by the opponents of her little nephew the Sultán. The Mughuls now took the city, made a great slaughter of the traitors, and took the young king prisoner. For the subsequent history of Ahmadnagar under Malik Amb and its final conquest by Sháh Jahán in 1637, *see* §§ 58, 72.

§ 46. Asirgarh was next taken, Khándesh annexed and Prince Dányál made Súbahdár. Akbar left the Deccan in 1601; giving the supreme command there to Abul Fazl, see § 54.

§ 47. The Mughul dominions in the Deccan at the death of Akbar were Khándesh, a great part of Barár, the fort of Ahmadnagar and the surrounding districts.

§ 48. Akbar was unfortunate in his sons.

The two eldest, Hasan and Husain, were twins; and died in infancy.

Salím (so called because he was born in the house of Shaikh Salím), who afterwards succeeded under the title of Jahángír, rebelled in 1601; but Akbar put down the rebellion, and the Prince was made Súbahdár of Bengal and Orissa, and a commander of 10,000.

Murád died at the age of 29, in 1599.

Dányál died in 1604, of intemperance.

§ 49. When Akbar's health at length began to fail, intrigues regarding the succession to the throne commenced. The choice lay between Salím, the only surviving son of the emperor, and Salím's son, Khusrau, who had been appointed Governor of Orissa in 1593, when he was a mere child. Salím's debaucheries and his undutiful conduct were obstacles to his succession. Moreover, Rájá Mán Singh, brother of Khusrau's mother [*see* § 33] and the great general Azíz, or Khán-i-Azam, his father-in-law, were in favour of the younger prince.

§ 50. Akbar at length solemnly nominated Salím as his successor, in the presence of the Umáras or grandees; and shortly afterwards died, having done his best to inculcate unity and loyalty by his dying words.

§ 51. Akbar was strongly built and handsome in person, sober and abstemious in his habits. He was fond of hunting and athletic sports, and often walked thirty or forty miles in a day. He was very studious, most methodical in the despatch of business, understood Sanskrit, encouraged every kind of literature, and superintended many important literary undertakings. He was very affectionate both to his family and to his friends, humane and compassionate.

§ 52. In his early life he had been a strict Muhammadan; but in 1579 he appears to have become somewhat unorthodox. He studied Hindú works of science and religion, and made himself acquainted with some of the tenets of the Christian religion. Regular discussions were held, in which Bráhmans, Muhammadan doctors, and even Christian priests took part.

§ 53. The internal administration under the rule of Akbar was both just and judicious. He desired to treat all his subjects alike, to abolish the distinction of Hindú and Muhammadan, and thus to fuse the discordant elements of his empire into one homogeneous whole. Nearly every conquered king or general, whether Hindú or Musalmán, who showed signs of submission and loyalty, received proofs of Akbar's lenity and favours in the shape either of an appointment at court or of the command of a district. In the seventh year of his reign he abolished the *jiziah* (a poll-tax on all Hindús and other infidels, which had been exacted with great severity under some of the Afghán kings) and all taxes on pilgrims. The jiziah was not reimposed until the time of Aurangzeb.

§ 54. The famous financial reforms of Akbar, in reducing the expense of the collection of the revenue, in preventing the extortions of the government officers, and in equalising the pressure of taxation, were ably carried out by the great Hindú financier, Rájá TODAR MALL [*see* § 35]. Todar Mall is said to have based his wise fiscal measures mainly on the enactments of Sher Sháh, the first of the Súr dynasty. The empire was divided into eighteen súbahs, each under a Súbahdár or viceroy. A full account of these súbahs, with a minute description of every department of government, and every thing connected with the emperor's establishments, public and private, may be found in the *Aín-i-Akbarí* or *Institutes of Akbar*, written by ABUL FAZL. This eminent man, and his brother Faizi (who was also a learned man, a poet, and the first Muhammadan who studied the literature of the Hindús) were Akbar's most intimate friends and counsellors. Abul Fazl rose to the highest military commands, and was prime minister. He was killed at the instigation of Prince Salím in 1603.

Akbar also effected important reforms in the administration of the army; of which the most important was the order that soldiers were henceforward to be paid in cash, not by *jágírs* or assignments of lands.

PART V.—JAHANGIR. A.D. 1605—1627.

§ 55. Summary of the history of the reign. § 56. His first measures. § 57. His son. § 58. Malik Ambar. § 59. Sháh Jahán's campaigns in Malwár and the Deccan. § 60. Nur Jahán's early life. § 61. She becomes empress. § 62. Sir Thomas Roe. § 63. Sháh Jahán's second campaign in the Deccan. § 64. Sháh Jahán's rebellion. § 65. Mahábat Khán. § 66. The Emperor a prisoner. § 67. Death of the Emperor. § 68. His character.

§ 55. The fourth Mughul emperor was Salím. On his accession he took the title of Jahángír.

The noteworthy points in his history are:—

(1). His youthful debaucheries, his rebellion against his father, his murder of Abul Fazl in 1603, and his contest with his own son Khusrau for the succession to the empire; which have been already noticed, in the chapter on Akbar's reign.

(2). His strictness in religious matters, a contrast to his father's tolerant views.

(3). His persecution of his son Khusrau.

(4). His marriage with the famous Núr Jahán.

(5). The English embassy under Sir T. Rose, 1615—1618.

(6). The remarkable history of his great general Mahábat Khán.

(7). Contests with Malik Ambar, and Sháh Jahán's rebellions in the Deccan.

§ 56. Jahángír retained most of his father's old officers; and extended some of his reforms, especially in preventing extortion or oppression on the part of Government officers. He prided himself on the facility with which all persons who had complaints to make could approach the royal person; for this purpose a chain connected with some golden bells in the emperor's private room,

was hung from the wall of the palace. He was more rigid in his attention to observances of the Muhammadan faith than his father.

§ 57. The mother of his eldest son Khusrau was a Rájpút princess, daughter of Rájá Bhagaván Dás, and sister of Rájá Mán Singh [*see* § 33]. It has already been mentioned that the young prince, aided by his uncle Mán Singh, and by Azíz, had opposed the succession of his father to the Imperial throne. Consequently, on the accession of Jahángír, Khusrau thought himself not safe, and fled to the Panjáb, where a large army gathered around him. Jahángír's army was, however, victorious; and Khusrau, as he was trying to make his way to Kábul, was run aground on the banks of the Jhelam, and seized by the emperor's troops. And now Jahángír made a display of that cruelty which marked his character. He caused 700 of Khusrau's adherents to be impaled in a line leading from the gate of Lahor. The miserable prince was conducted along the line to "receive the homage of his servants." He was deeply affected by the spectacle. He was kept a prisoner, though not in very close custody, till his death in 1621.

Jahángír's second son was the prince Parwíz. From 1623 to the death of the emperor, his third son Khurram, or Sháh Jahán, was in rebellion. The latter had been Akbar's favourite.

§ 58. Mírzá Abdurrahím (son of the great Bairám Khán), now Khán-Khánán or chief commander, and Prince Parwíz, the second son of the emperor, were joined in the command of an army to conquer the Deccan in 1608. The Mughul cause in these parts had of late been very unsuccessful, owing to the splendid abilities of the great MALIK AMBAR. He was an Abyssinian noble of Ahmadnagar, who after the death of Chánd Bibí and the capture of the city by the Mughuls in 1599 [*see* § 45] had founded a new capital at Khárki (a name afterwards changed by Aurangzeb to Aurangabád), and had ably carried on the government in the name of the young king of Ahmadnagar. Murtazá Nizám Sháh Malik Ambar now regained Ahmadnagar itself, and drove back the Khán-Khánán to Burhánpur. Jahángír consequently superseded the latter, and sent Khán Jahán to take his place in 1610.

Malik Ambar is said to have introduced Todar Mall's revenue-system into the Deccan. He held his ground against the Mughuls

till his death in 1626; after which all hope of maintaining the peace and independence of the Deccan was at an end.

§ 59. The Khán-Khánán was subsequently again sent to the south, and at last Prince Khurram (who for his success here was given the title of Sháh Jahán) was sent to help him in A.D. 1616. Sháh Jahán had already acquired great renown in a war against the Rána of Udaipur, whom he had reduced to complete submission (in 1614), and afterwards gained as a friend by his generous treatment. Jahángír himself now fixed his residence at Mándú in Málwah, in order to be nearer the scene of war; while Sháh Jáhán selected Burhánpur as head-quarters. Adil Sháh and Kutb-ul-mulk [*see* Chap. IV., §§ 12, 14] sent tribute, and submitted: and Malik Ambar ceded Ahmadnagar and all his other conquests.

§ 60. The Emperor's marriage with the celebrated Mihrunnisá Khánum, the widow of Sher Afkan, took place in 1611. She was called after her marriage Núr Mahall *(the light of the palace); and* subsequently obtained the name by which she is most commonly known, Núr Jahán *(the light of the world)*. She was of a noble Persian family, which had been reduced to poverty; in consequence of which, her father emigrated to India. On the way, at Kandahár, Núr Jahán was born. To such poverty were they reduced that the infant, who was afterwards to become the mighty empress of world-wide renown, was exposed on the high road, where a merchant saw the child, and compassionately took it for his own. The child's own mother was employed by him as its nurse; and to his kindness her family was indebted for an introduction to the Court of Akbar. Here the father and eldest son soon rose into notice; and the mother had free access to the háram of Akbar, where the young and beautiful girl saw and captivated Jahángír, then Prince Salím. To remove her from the Prince's sight, she was, by Akbar's advice, married to Sher Afkan, a young Persian, who was made governor of Bardwán.

§ 61. When Jahángír became emperor, he suggested to Kutb-ud-din, Viceroy of Bengal, that he should induce Núr Jahán's husband to divorce her. Her husband refused; and in the quarrel that ensued, both the Viceroy and Sher Afkan were killed. Núr Jahán was sent to Delhi; but she, looking upon the emperor

as the murderer of her husband, rejected his overtures with disdain: After a length of time, however, a reconciliation took place, and Núr Jahán became empress of India. Her name was put on the coinage with the emperor's. Her influence was unbounded. Her father was made prime minister; and her brother, Asaf Khán, was given a very high appointment. They used their power well; and though Jahángír still indulged in nightly drunken debauches, the affairs of the kingdom were henceforth managed with prudence and humanity.

§ 62. Sir T. Roe came as an ambassador from James I., and remained from 1615 to 1618. He was received with great honour, being assigned the highest place at court at all public ceremonies; and by his influence, the English trade with India was put on a somewhat more favourable footing. He found the cities of the Deccan much neglected, and the country generally less prosperous than it had been in Akbar's time. The splendour of the court astonished him.

§ 63. In 1620 A.D., Malik Ambar broke the treaty [*see* § 59], drove back the emperor's generals, and besieged the Súbahdár (the Khán-Khánán) in Burhánpur. Sháh Jahán was again sent into the Deccan, where he succeeded in raising the siege of Burhánpur. Shortly afterwards he was glad to admit Malik Ambar to favourable terms, as his attention was now required elsewhere.

§ 64. The intrigues of the queen to ensure the succession of Prince Shahryár, the emperor's youngest son (married to Núr Jahán's daughter by her first husband), disturbed the peace of the empire, and led to Sháh Jahán's rebellion in the Deccan in 1621. Prince Parwíz and Mahábat Khán were sent against the rebel, and drove him from the Deccan, whence he made his way to Bengal, where he for a time established himself; but soon after submitted to his father.

§ 65. Mahábat Khán, a famous general, had been brought to Delhi from his government of Kábul, by Núr Jahán, who hoped that he would aid her in carrying out her wishes in opposition to Sháh Jahán. He did so at first; and the reputation which he won in the campaigns in the Deccan made him the most eminent man in the empire, except perhaps the queen's own bro-

ther Asaf Khán. But he became a friend and partizan of Prince Parwíz whom Núr Jahán hated as much as Sháh Jahán; and thus he incurred the bitter hostility of the queen.

§ 66. Mahábat was summoned to join the emperor, as the latter was marching with his army towards Kábul. He came, attended by 5,000 Rájpút horsemen devoted to his service; but on his arrival was told that he could not see the emperor. Seeing that his disgrace was resolved on, he determined to avert it by a stroke of unparalleled audacity. He awaited until the emperor's troops had crossed the Jhelam; and when Jahángír himself was about to follow, he suddenly secured the passage of the river with a part of his Rájpúts, whilst with the rest he seized the emperor's person. Núr Jahán strove in vain to liberate her husband, and at length resolved to share his captivity. She narrowly escaped being put to death by the victor. Mahábat was now supreme, and retained his power for nearly a year. Núr Jahán at length succeeded in effecting the escape of the emperor, and Mahábat was compelled to fly to the south, where he joined Sháh Jahán.

§ 67. Sháh Jahán had been in most depressed circumstances, and had thought of flying to Persia. But in 1626, his elder brother Parwíz died; and now the adhesion of Mahábat Khán brought him all the strength of the party of Parwíz. In the following year the emperor too died, on his way from Kashmír to Láhor, in his sixteenth year.

§ 68. Jahángír was not wanting either in good feelings or in good sense. Though intemperate and violent, he was remarkable for his sincere love of justice, which he always endeavoured to carry out by personally enquiring into all public or private matters in dispute.

PART VI.—SHAH JAHAN. A.D. 1627—1658.

§ 69. Murders his rivals. § 70. The Great Men of the Age. § 71. Rebellion of Khán Jahán Lodí. § 72. Final subjugation of Ahmadnagar. § 73 Destruction of Portuguese power in Bengal. § 74. Submission of Kandahár and its subsequent loss. § 75. Sádullah Khán. § 76. Aurangzeb's campaign in the Deccan. § 77. Sháh Jahán's family. § 78. Intrigues for the succession. § 79. Dárá defeats Shujá. § 80. Defeat of Dárá, and im-

prisonment of Sháh Jahán, by Aurangzeb. § 81. Sháh Jahán's public works. § 82. His Wealth. § 83. His character.

§ 69. Sháh Jahán, on the death of his father, hastened from the Deccan to Agra. Shahryár and two of his cousins who opposed him were defeated and up to death, either by his orders or by those of Asaf Khán. In fact, none of the race of Bábar were left alive, but the emperor's own children. Núr Jahán at once retired into private life; she received however a magnificent allowance. She died in A.D. 1646.

§ 70. The two great men of this period were Núr Jahán's brother Asaf Khán, and Mahábat Khán; who were mainly instrumental in securing the emperor's accession.

§ 71. The rebellion of Khán Jahán Lodí, who was Súbahdár of the Deccan, was the first important event [1628—1630]. At first he seemed to aim at independence; but soon submitted, and was removed from the Deccan to Máliwah, Mahábat Khán succeeding him. Subsequently, Khán Jahán, suspecting that the emperor distrusted him, raised the standard of revolt in Agrá itself. He was encountered and defeated on the banks of the Chambal, but escaped; and allying himself with the king of Ahmadnagar, transferred the war to the Deccan. He was finally defeated and slain in Bundelkhand, near Kálinjar.

§ 72. The war against Ahmadnagar, thus provoked, was continued for a long time. Sometimes the Mughuls were engaged against Ahmadnagar, sometimes against Bíjápur, sometimes against the two combined. Bíjápur was twice unsuccessfully besieged. In 1634, Mahábat Khán was recalled to court, and the Mughuls made no progress in the Deccan; until Sháji, father of Sivají [Chap. V., § 4], set up a new pretender to the throne of Ahmadnagar, and took possession of the territory around. Sultán Shujá had been Súbahdár of the Deccan, and was recalled at the same time as Mahábat. Sháh Jahán now took the field himself, brought both Bíjápur and Golkondah to terms, and subdued Sháji and the forces of Ahmadnagar. Thus Ahmadnagar was extinguished in 1637 [Chap. IV., § 13].

§ 73. The Portuguese had established a settlement near Sátganw in Bengal, on the branch of the Ganges, now called the

Hugli. This was called *Golin*, or Hugli. At Chittagong, too, they had a flourishing factory. To the Mughul Governor of Dacca they were objects of great suspicion. He complained to Sháh Jahán that they had mounted cannon on their fort, and had grown insolent and oppressive. The emperor gave orders that they should be expelled from Hugli; and this was done, with a terrible slaughter of the luckless residents, in 1631.

§ 74. Ali Mardán Khán, governor of Kandahár, at this time gave up that province to Sháh Jahán, from disgust at the tyranny of his master, the King of Persia. He became a trusted general of the emperor; and especially rendered himself useful by his knowledge of engineering, Sháh Jáhan being passionately fond of constructing public works. In conjunction first with Prince Murád, and afterwards with Prince Aurangzeb, he conducted several fruitless campaigns in the regions of Central Asia beyond the Hindú Kúsh mountains.

Kandahár was soon retaken by the Persians; and though besieged by the emperor's sons, Aurangzeb and Dárá, was never retaken.

§ 75. The great revenue settlement of the Deccan, based on the system of Akbar's great financier Todar Mall, was completed in 1653—1655. About this time also died the Vazír Saádullah, said to have been the most able and upright minister that has ever appeared in India.

§ 76. Prince Aurangzeb was sent to the Deccan as Súbahdár in 1652; and soon afterwards he attacked Golkondah, at the invitation of Mír Jumlah, the prime minister of that kingdom. Under the pretext of sending his son Sultán Muhammad to Bengal, to espouse the daughter of Prince Shujá, Aurangzeb marched his army to the neighbourhood of Haidarábád, and surprised the city, whilst the king Abdullah Kutb Sháh was preparing a hospitable reception for him. The king fled to the hill-fort of Golkondah, where Aurangzeb besieged him, and compelled him to pay tribute and marry his daughter to Sultán Muhammad. Mír Jumlah became one of Aurangzeb's favourite generals. The prince was then about to attack Bíjápur, when news reached him of Sháh Jahán's sudden and dangerous illness.

§ 77. The contest for the succession was now to begin amongst Sháh Jahán's children, of whom there were four sons and two daughters.

Dárá Shikoh, the eldest, was frank and generous, and daring even to rashness; he was a freethinker, and regarded as an infidel by orthodox Musalmáns. The second son Shujá was merely an effeminate sensualist. Aurangzeb was the third, a master of dissimulation, an accomplished soldier, of handsome person, in religion a bigot, and above all, intensely ambitious. Murád, the youngest, was, like Dárá, brave and generous; but dull in intellect, self-willed, and an abandoned sensualist. The eldest daughter was Pádsháh Begam, the favourite, and great supporter of Dárá. The younger daughter, Raushanárá, was an active and intriguing partisan of Aurangzeb.

§ 78. As soon as the news of Sháh Jahán's illness in 1657 reached them, in spite of Dárá's efforts to conceal it, both Prince Shujá, then viceroy of Bengal, and Prince Murád, viceroy of Gujarát, assumed the royal title, and prepared to march on the capital. Aurangzeb more cautiously advanced to the northern boundary of his province, secured the co-operation of the general Mír Jumlah, and entered into a negotiation with Murád. He represented to that weak prince that he himself was only desirous of going to Mecca, and that he would unite with Murád to oppose the infidel Dárá and his idolatrous Rájpút general Jeswant Singh.

§ 79. Dárá first met Shujá near Benáres, and defeated him. Shujá returned to Bengal.

§ 80. In the meantime, Aurangzeb joined Murád and met and defeated Jeswant Singh near Ujjaín. Aurangzeb still treated Murád as his superior. Dárá now advanced one day's march from Agra to meet Aurangzeb, and a severe engagement took place. Dárás elephant was struck with a rocket, and became ungovernable. This compelled him to alight. The sight of his elephant with empty howdah spread a panic through his army. The battle and the cause were lost by this trifling circumstance. Dárá fled to Delhi. Aurangzeb rendered devout thanks to heaven for his victory, and deceitfully congratulated Murád on his

success. Three days later, he entered Agra, and finding it impossible to shake the old emperor's attachment to Dárá, he made him a prisoner. Thus ended Sháh Jahán's reign in 1658, though he lived till December, 1666.

§ 81. Sháh Jahán will always be famous for the splendour of his public works, for the magnificence of his court, his peacock-throne worth six-and-a-half millions sterling; and the grandeur of his buildings. The Táj Mahál at Agra, the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahál, Sháh Jahán's queen, built of white marble, decorated with mosaics of many-coloured precious stones, is in solemn grandeur unsurpassed by any building in the world.

§ 82. Besides the peacock-throne, Sháh Jahán left vast treasures, including no less than twenty-four crores of rupees in coin alone.

§ 83. Sháh Jahán was on the whole a good and just ruler. He never remitted his vigilance over the administration; and in this way and by a judicious selection of his ministers, he secured the prosperity of his dominions, which enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity during his reign.

PART VII.—AURANGZEB. A.D. 1658—1707.

§ 84. Summary of the events of Aurangzeb's reign. § 85. He exterminates his rivals. § 86. Death of Mír Jumlah. § 87. Intrigues. § 88. Sivaji. § 89. Death of Sháh Jahán. § 90. Insurrections of fanatics. § 91. Discontent amongst the Hindús. § 92. Rájput rebellion. § 93. Rebellion of Prince Akbar. § 94. Peace with Maiwár. § 95. Wars in the Deccan. § 96. The Mughul Armies and Leaders. § 97. Capture of Bíjápur. § 98. Capture of Golkondah. § 99. Wars against the Mahrattas. § 100. The Emperor's campaigns. § 101. The Mahrattas recover themselves. § 102. Aurangzeb's death. § 103. His character. § 104. Review of the state of India at this period.

§ 84. The sixth Mughul emperor was Aurangzeb. His Imperial title was Alamgír (the *conqueror of the universe*); and he is frequently called Alamgír I. The chief points to be noticed in his reign are:—(1) the shameful duplicity and unnatural cruelty by which he obtained the throne; (2) his intolerant policy, which made him hated by the Hindús; (3) his constant contests with the Mahrattas

[Chap. V., §§ 10—21]; (4) the conquest of the Deccan [Chap. IV., § 14]; (5) the progress of the English in India [see Chap. VI., §§ 23—25].

§ 85. From Agra Aurangzeb and Murád pursued the flying Dárá to Delhi. On the road Aurangzeb seized Murád, threw him into chains, and ultimately consigned him to the great state prison of Gwálior. At Delhi Aurangzeb was proclaimed emperor A.D. 1658, though he was not crowned for a year afterwards. He had still to pursue Dárá, and to meet Shujá who was advancing from Bengal. The former fled to Multán, and from thence to one after another of the Rájpút chiefs. He was at length betrayed and taken to Delhi where he was paraded through the streets, and afterwards put to death as an apostate from Islám. Aurangzeb affected to weep over his brother's head. Shujá was soon overthrown by Mír Jumlah. Meanwhile Aurangzeb's son, Muhammad Sultán, deserted to Shujá, married his daughter, and then again joined Mír Jumlah. He was kept in prison for seven years in Gwálior, by his father. Shujá and all his family perished in Arakán, whither he had fled. Sulaimán son of Dárá, was also taken and consigned with all the other members of the family to Gwálior, where he soon died. Murád, on some frivolous excuse, was put to death, A.D. 1661. Thus, by a series of murders, Aurangzeb made his throne secure.

§ 86. In 1663, Mír Jumlah, after subduing Assam, was projecting an invasion of China, when he died near Dacca; much to the relief of the emperor, who was jealous of his power and great abilities.

§ 87. Jeswant Singh, the powerful Rájpút chief of Jodhpur, whose dominions extended from Gujarát to Ajmír, and Mahábat Khán (son of the great general) from Kábul, combined to effect the release of Sháh Jahán. Intrigues were also made by various parties to place one or other of the emperor's sons then on the throne. All these plots had acquired strength during a severe illness to which the emperor had nearly succumbed; but on his recovery, by energy and promptitude, he defeated them all.

§ 88. For an account of the first open rupture between t emperor and the great Mahratta Sivají, the expeditions of t

emperor's generals into the Deccan, Sivaji's visit to Delhi, his escape, his treaty with Aurangzeb, and his career till his death in 1680, *see* Chap. V., §§ 9—17.

§ 89. Sháh Jahán died in prison in A.D. 1666. About this time Little Thibet and Chittagong were added to the emperor's dominions.

§ 90. Disturbances in Afghánistán followed, which do not concern Indian history. In 1676 the Satnarámis near Nárnol rebelled. These fanatics imagined themselves invincible, and Aurangzeb with his own hand wrote texts from the Korán to be fastened on the standards of his troops to dissolve the spells of the rebels. The were defeated and dispersed; but this led to the re-imposition of the *jiziah* [*see* § 53].

§ 91. Discontent now spread throughout every class of Hindús. The system of Akbar had been formally abandoned. The Rájpút Jeswant Singh of Jodhpur boldly expostulated with Aurangzeb; but he died in 1677.

§ 92. The widow and children of this great Rájpút chief were treated with indignity by Aurangzeb; and this enraged the whole Rájpút nation. Durgá Dás, who was the chief general of the deceased Rájá, together with the chiefs of Maiwár and Jaipur and others, combined to protect the children of Jeswant Singh, and to resist the hated *jiziah*. The emperor acted with his usual energy and promptitude. He sent his three sons, Muzzam (afterwards Sháh Alam I.) with the army of the Deccan, Azam with the army of Bengal, and Akbar, into Rájpútáná; and ordered them, wherever they marched, to ravage the country and exterminate the inhabitants. This cruel policy, successful for the time, for ever alienated the high-spirited Rájpúts.

§ 93. In the course of this war, Prince Akbar, the favourite son of the emperor, was induced to rebel, by the promises of Durgá Dás that he should be supported by the whole Rájpút power. Akbar was now 23 years of age, and probably wished to emulate his father's example in attempting to seize the empire. He soon had 70,000 men under his command. But Aurangzeb was as cunning stratagem as energetic in action; and Akbar, his army having

been wiled or terrified into desertion, fled to the Concan, where he became a fugitive among the Mahrattas, and where Sambaji received him. Disgusted with Sambaji's manners, he soon retired to Persia, where he died in A.D. 1706 [Chap. V., § 19.]

§ 94. In 1681, Aurangzeb made peace with the Eastern Rájpúts of Maiwár. The Ráná of Maiwár preserved the appearance of fidelity to his allies, by stipulating that Ajít Singh, son of Jeswant Singh, should be restored to his father's dominion of Márwár or Jodhpur, when he came of age.

§ 95. The most important events of Aurangzeb's reign were connected with his wars in the Deccan. His policy here was throughout a mistaken one; for he was weakening and ruining the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan and the ancient sovereignties of India, when he should have aided them and strengthened them in their contest with the common enemy, the plundering Mahrattas. His general Khán Jahán effected nothing against the latter. Dilír Khán, who succeeded him, invaded Golkondah and Bíjápur without any decisive results. Aurangzeb arrived at Burhánpur in 1683, and spent two years there and at Aurangábád before advancing to Ahmadnagar. The magnificence of his progress surpasses anything recorded in history. A million of persons were assembled in his camp.

§ 96. In this prolonged expedition several armies were kept continually in motion, under Prince Muazzam, Prince Azam, Prince Kámbaksh, Khán Jahán and the emperor himself. In conjunction with these were many great Mughul generals; of whom the most famous were Dilír Khán, Dáúd Khan Panni, and Zulfikár Khán. But in warlike character the Mughul nobles had deteriorated; and, though they were successful against the Musalmán kingdoms of the Deccan, and at first even against the Mahrattas, by the force of their numbers and by the strategy of Aurangzeb and his best generals, yet the hardy Mahratta soldiery soon learnt to despise and to conquer them,

§ 97. Bíjápur was taken, and its monarchy finally destroyed in A.D. 1686. The chief agent in the capture was Gházi-ud-díu, father of the great Nizám-ul-mulk, of whom we shall hear

hereafter [§ 101] as sovereign of the Deccan; though the emperor himself was present [Chap. IV., § 12].

§ 98. Golkondah fell in the following year. But of his new conquest the emperor never had more than mere military possession. Kadapa, Conjeveram, and other important places were taken by the emperor's troops, in the same year [Chap. IV., § 14.]

§ 99. Aurangzeb's wars with the Mahrattas occupied him more or less from this time till his death in 1707. The chief incidents were the capture and execution of Sambaji, the captivity of Sahu, and the prolonged siege of Ginji. For an account of them the student must refer to Chap. V., §§ 19—21.

§ 100. Aurangzeb was now more than eighty years of age; but he retained all his faculties unimpaired, and the transient success of the Mughul arms was almost entirely owing to his energy and skill. He took Sátára early in 1700; and soon nearly all the Mahratta fortresses were surrendered one after another to his troops. But his successes were only apparent, not real; and were attended with the greatest hardships to himself and his armies, and with an immense waste of life and treasure. The rugged nature of the Mahratta country made its roads almost impassible and its strongholds almost inaccessible; his encampments were often overwhelmed by floods, and his soldiers decimated by pestilence. The suspicious temper of the emperor made him distrust every one round him, and especially his own sons, who (he feared) might imitate his own conduct to his father Sháh Jahán. Jealous of every one, he insisted on attending to everything himself even in the minutest detail; and would delegate his power to none. It was impossible that the vigour of one aged man, however able, could long sustain a falling empire.

§ 101. The Mahrattas, with an elasticity that ever marked them, began to recover themselves, soon re-took some of their forts, and so harassed the emperor, that he withdrew to Ahmednagar, which he re-entered in 1706. He had been twenty years engaged in these fruitless, harassing wars. The waves of Mahrattas swept over his track as soon a

§ 102. Aurangzeb entered Ahmadnagar only to die. His death was a melancholy one. Troubled with remorse, harassed by anxieties, conscious that after his death all he had tried to effect would be rendered vain by the contests of his sons for the throne, and by the universal decay which he could not but perceive in every part of the State, he gave utterance in his last moments to the most affecting expressions of despairing sadness. "Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity. I have committed many crimes, I know not with what punishments I may be visited." Such were some of his latest words. He died February 21, 1707, in the 89th year of his age.

§ 103. Under Aurangzeb the Mughul power attained its greatest splendour and its widest extension; by the time of his death it was rapidly falling into decay. Pure and even austere in his private life, and a rigid Muhammadan, he is generally regarded by Musalmán Historians as the greatest of the Mughul dynasty; greater even than Akbár. In general ability, in resolution, in energy, he was fully Akbár's equal. Like that illustrious monarch, he was just and laborious; but in almost every other respect his character is almost the reverse of that of Akbár. Both were masters of policy; but Aurangzeb always *preferred* a crooked policy, to attain his ends by stratagem or trickery. Akbár was perfectly liberal and tolerant, generous to all men, and especially merciful to a fallen enemy; Aurangzeb was a bigot and a persecutor, suspicious of all men, cruel to the conquered, and ready to avail himself of every mean advantage. His universal mistrust destroyed his own happiness, impaired the success of every undertaking, and undermined the empire. His heir Muazzam once incurred his unjust suspicions, and was imprisoned for six years from 1687 to 1694. The contrast between the characters of Akbár and Aurangzeb is best exhibited by their treatment of the Hindus, and especially of the Rájpúts; we have seen that Akbár converted the Rájpúts from enemies into the most loyal supporters of his throne, whilst Aurangzeb caused them to detest him. He even made it difficult to carry on the administration of the empire, by ordering that no Hindus should be employ as public servants; and he insisted on exacting the *jiziah* not on in Hindústán, but even in the Deccan. The consequence of all th

was that most of his Hindú subjects were in heart allies of the Mahrattas; and to this cause may be ascribed, mainly, the rapid decay of the empire.

§ 104. The death of Aurangzeb marks the turning point of the fortunes of the Mughul power; it will be well here to take a view of the general state of India, as we did at the last great epoch, the invasion of Bábar [§ 5]. Of the Mughul empire itself, we have already said sufficient. In the Deccan, the old sovereignties have at last been destroyed; and the Mughuls are brought face to face with the rising power of the Mahrattas, which is soon to humble them [*see* Chap. V.] The Portuguese influence on the coast has dwindled to insignificance; but mightier nations have taken their place. The English and French settlements are rapidly rising into importance [*see* Chap. VI.]; the former have been consolidated under the three Presidencies of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and have a regular and stable government.

PART VIII.—BAHADUR SHAH, OR SHAH ALAM I.

A.D. 1707—1712.

§ 105. Civil wars between the sons of Aurangzeb. § 106. Accession of Bahádúr Sháh. § 107. Summary of the events of the reign. § 108. The Sikhs. § 109. Death of the Emperor.

§ 105. Aurangzeb had ordered his extensive dominions to be divided at his death between his three sons, Muazzam, Azam, and Kámbaksh; the first to reign at Delhi over the north and east, with the title of emperor; the second to have Agra and the south and south-west; and Kámbaksh to have Golkondah and Bíjápur. But Muazzam and Azam both immediately claimed the sole sovereignty. A bloody battle was fought near Dholpur, in which Azam and his sons were slain Kámbaksh had submitted to Azam; but refusing to acknowledge Muazzam, a battle was fought near Haidarábád, where he too was defeated and killed.

§ 106. Muazzam assumed the title of Bahádúr Sháh, but is often called Sháh Alam I. He was the seventh Mughul Emperor.

§ 107. The most remarkable events of this reign are:—

(1). The suppression of the emperor's two brothers, already described.

(2). The extension of the Mahratta power. Sáhu had been liberated by Azam during his brief usurpation. A civil war ensued amongst the Mahrattas; but Bahádúr thought it necessary to support Sáhu, and even to concede to him the humiliating concession of *Chauth* [*see* Chap. V., § 11, § 23.]

(3). To the Rájpúts also were made concessions, which amounted to a virtual acknowledgment of their independence. Ajit Singh [§ 94] son of Jeswant Singh [§ 91], the Rájá of Márwár or Jodhpur, was the chief Rájpút leader.

(4). The rise of the Síkhs.

§ 108. The Síkhs were originally an inoffensive religious sect; but persecution changed them into a formidable military organization. The sect was founded by Nának in the time of Bábar. He taught a comprehensive and tolerent monotheism, and sought to comprehend Hindús and Muhammadans in one. The leading notions of Sufiism, a mystic form of Muhammadanism, and the Hindú Vedánta, were blended in his system. *Guru Govind*, their tenth Guru or spiritual chief, in 1675 completed their organization. He was slain by a private enemy; but his relatives and followers were visited with every species of cruelty. Banda was now their leader. Their hatred to the Musalmáns, inflamed by long persecutions, broke out into the most fearful atrocities. Bahádúr Sháh in person went against them, and drove them into the hills; but failed in capturing Banda, and the check to the Síkhs was merely temporary. [Comp. § 120 and Chap. VIII., § 83].

§ 109. In the attempt to stamp out the Síkhs, the emperor spent the last five years of his life. He died February, 1712.

PART IX.—JAHANDAR SHAH. A.D. 1712—1713.

§ 110. Accession of Jahándár. § 111. Aided by Zulfikár Khán. § 112. The Sayyids. § 113. The battle of Agra, and death of Jahándár. § 114. Life of Zulfikár Khán.

§ 110. Bahádúr left four sons. Of these the second, Azim-us-Sháh, was by far the most able, and was supported by most of the nobility and the army; but the eldest Mírzá Muizz-ud-dín, though the weakest of the four, through the influence of Zulfikár Khán, overcame his rivals; and with the usual slaughter of his kindred, ascended the throne, under the title of Jahándár Sháh.

§ 111. Zulfikár Khán supported Jahándár Sháh, in the belief that the weakness of the emperor would throw all power into the hands of himself as vazír. His arrogance, however, disgusted all the Umarás; and the latter were in consequence at first inclined to support the emperor in his endeavours to make himself independent of Zulfikár Khán. Other foes soon appeared to displace both emperor and vazír.

§ 112. Farrukh Siyar, the second son of Prince Azím [§ 110] escaped the sword of Jahándár; and obtained the aid of two powerful nobles, commonly known as the Sayyids. Their names were Sayyid Husain Ali, governor of Bihár, and his brother Sayyid Abdullah, governor of Allahábád [*see* § 116].

§ 113. These Sayyids are often called the "king-makers" of India, because it was by them that the next four emperors were successively put on the throne. They now warmly espoused the cause of Farrukh Siyar; and in a battle near AGRA defeated Zulfikár and his puppet emperor, Jahándár, February 1713. The former was strangled; and the latter was also put to death.

§ 114. ZULFIKAR KHAN, who thus met his death, had also been to some extent a "king-maker." His father was Assad Khán, head of one of the oldest noble families in the empire. Zulfikár distinguished himself under Aurangzeb in the war with the Mahrattas, A.D. 1690 [§ 96]; in the course of which, disgusted at being nominally under the prince Kámbaksh, he held traitorous intercourse with the Mahrattas, but at length took Ginji. His and his father's influence gave Bahádúr Sháh the throne, and by that emperor he was made viceroy of the Deccan. He raised Jahándár Sháh to the throne, and was his vazir. He fell a victim to his own treachery; for after the battle of Agra he surrendered his master to the Sayyids in the hope of saving his own life, and he was by their order strangled.

PART X.—FARRUKH SIYAR. A.D. 1713—1719.

§ 115. Accession of Farrukh Siyar. § 116. The Bárha Sayyids. § 117. The rivals of the Sayyids. § 118. Marriage of Farrukh Siyar. § 119. Surgeon Hamilton. § 120. Persecution of the Síkhs. § 121. War with the Mahrattas. § 122. Assassination of the emperor.

§ 115. Farrukh Siyar succeeded as Ninth Mughul Emperor, but his power was little more than nominal. The two Sayyids really wielded the government; and the only check on them was the influence of some rival nobles of whom we shall speak presently.

§ 116. The Bárha Sayyids (for an explanation of the term Sayyid, *see* Introduction, § 18) were a powerful tribe in the district of Muzaffarnagar (province of Delhi), were they had been long settled, and where their descendants are at the present day an important element in the population. The brothers HUSAIN ALI and ABDULLAH KHAN were men of much courage and ability. They had been promoted by Azím, the emperor's father, when he was viceroy of Bengal. The former was now made vazír, and the latter Commander-in-Chief.

§ 117. The rivals of the Sayyids were:—(1) the Nizam-ul-mulk, Asaf-Jáh, who at that time was a veteran warrior, a man of consummate cunning, and a prominent person from this period till his death in A.D. 1748. His descendants are the Nizáms of Haidarábád.

(2) Saádat Khán, originally a merchant from the Persian province of Khurásán (and hence called "the Persian Pedlar)" was the coadjutor and rival of the Nizám-ul-mulk, held a high military command, and founded the modern kingdom of Oudh.

(3) Of less importance is Mír Jumlah, a personal favourite of the emperor, who plotted unsuccessfully against the Sayyids, was for a time governor of Bihár, and finally was dismissed to his native town of Multán. He must not be confounded with others bearing this title.

(4) A warrior of renown was Dáúd Khán, who acted for a time as viceroy of the Deccan, but was now removed to Khándesh and Gujarát. He fell in a desperate attempt to overthrow the power of Husain Alí.

Thus Mír Jumlah and Dáúd Khán were unsuccessful in their attempts against the Sayyids; but Nizám-ul-mulk and Saádat Khán ultimately overthrew them [*see* § 127].

§ 118. Farrukh Siyar married a Rájpút princess, daughter of Ajít Singh, the Rájá of Márwár. This marriage was the condition of a peace with the Rájpúts.

§ 119. At the time that this marriage was being settled, (A.D. 1716), a deputation from the small British factory at Calcutta was sent to the emperor. It happened that with the deputation was a Scottish surgeon named Gabriel Hamilton; and as the emperor's marriage was delayed by his sickness, the services of the British doctor were sought for. The emperor gratefully left it to Hamilton to choose his reward; and he, with rare disinterestedness, asked on behalf of the Company for the zamíndárship of thirty-seven towns in Bengal, and exemption from dues on the goods. This in a remarkable degree strengthened the position of the British in India [*see* Chap. VI., § 25].

§ 120. The leader of the Síkhs [*see* § 108] at this time was Banda; under whom they were guilty of great atrocities. He was at length overcome and sent with 740 [illegible] (saved for the purpose from a general massacre) to [illegible]. They were there exposed to every insult from the [illegible] population. Banda was the victim of the most [illegible] barbarities, while his followers were beheaded on seve[illegible] sive days. They met torture and death with the m[illegible] courage, disdaining to a man to purchase life by [illegible] their faith. The followers of Nának were nearly exti[illegible]

§ 121. The emperor's dominions in the Deccan w[illegible] by the Mahrattas. Nizám-ul-mulk was made [illegible] Deccan in 1713; but was soon removed to mak[illegible] powerful Sayyid Husain Alí. The latter was [illegible] secure his power in the court at Delhi, [illegible] Mahrattas; consequently he met with su[illegible] he made a treaty with Sáhu in 1717, acknow[illegible] father's possessions with all later conq[illegible] A body of 10,000 Mahrattas now

to enable him to make good his position at Delhi against all rivals. One of their leaders was the first Peshwá, Báláji Viswanáth; and he remained at Delhi till he obtained in 1720 a ratification of this treaty from Muhammad Sháh.

§ 122. Farrukh Siyar, a man of the weakest and most vacillating character, made several plots to rid himself of the Sayyids; but Husain Alí anticipated them by assassinating the unfortunate emperor.

PART XI.—RAFI-UD-DARAJAT, AND RAFI-UD-DAULAH. A.D. 1719.

§ 123. Rafi-ud-daraját. § 124. Rafi-ud-daulah.

§ 123. The Sayyids now set up a youth called Rafi-ud-daraját, who died in three months of consumption (A.D. 1719. February —May).

§ 124. They then selected Rafi-ud-daulah, who also died in a few months. These two names are not in the Muhammadan lists of emperors.

PART XII.—MUHAMMAD SHAH. A.D. 1719—1748.

§ 125. The Sayyids set up Muhammad Sháh. § 126. The overthrow of the Sayyids. § 127. Death of Husain Alí. § 128. Independence of the Rájpúts. § 129. Independence of the Nizám. § 130. Independence of Oudh. § 131. The Mahrattas. § 132. Nadír Sháh. § 133. Battle of Karnál and fall of Delhi. § 134. Death of Nizám-ul-mulk. § 135. The Rohillas. § 136. The Invasion of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. § 137. Repelled by the Mughuls. § 138. Death of Muhammad Sháh. § 139. Independence of Bengal.

§ 125. The Sayyids at length chose Raushanakhtar, who took the name of Muhammad Sháh. He was the twelfth Mughul Emperor; his reign is a most eventful one, and marks the disintegration of the Mughul Empire. The student will do well to compare this reign with that of Mahmúd Tughlak [Chap. II., § 67]; in both we see the independence of most of the outlying provinces established; in both the horrors of a successful foreign invasion are added to those of internal dissensions.

§ 126. The first great event was the overthrow of the king-makers, the Sayyids. This was effected chiefly by a combination between Nizám-ul-mulk and Saádat Khán. The former openly rebelled, marched southward to recover his old viceroyalty of the Deccan, and overthrew the generals sent against him by the Sayyids, whose prestige was now well nigh destroyed. The Sayyids were Shíahs, and their opponents were Súnnis [*see* § 16].

§ 127. Husain Alí, taking with him the emperor, left Delhi for the Deccan to oppose him, but was assassinated on the march. The surviving brother, Abdullah, acted with energy, set up another emperor in Delhi, and marched to meet the conspirators, but was defeated in the battle of SHAHPUR, between Delhi and Agra; soon after which Nizám-ul-mulk returned and took the office of vazír.

§ 128. The Rájpúts now asserted their independence in Ajmír, under Rájá Ajít Singh, the late emperor's father-in-law.

§ 129. Nizám-ul-mulk did not long remain at Delhi. He retired to the Deccan in 1724, where he became from that time virtually independent [*see* §§ 161—173].

§ 130. About the same time Saádat Khán succeeded in making himself independent in Oudh, of which he was governor.

§ 131. The progress of the Mahrattas and their struggles with Nizám-ul-mulk form an important part of the history of this reign; the account of them will be found in Chap. V., §§ 25—32.

§ 132. In the midst of the difficulties caused by the increasing power of the Mahrattas, an unexpected and overwhelming disaster overtook the Imperial arms. This was the successful invasion of India by the terrible Persian NADIR SHAH. This famous warrior, originally a shepherd on the shores of the Caspian Sea, had delivered Persia from the oppression of Afghán invaders, and had usurped the Persian throne. In retaliation for the Afghán invasion, he had conquered Herát and Kandahár; and now, on the frivolous pretext that the Mughuls had sheltered some of his Afghán enemies, had advanced on Kábul, and thence to the Indus, which he crossed in November 1738.

§ 133. The emperor had underrated the power of Nádir's force; and there are also suspicions of treachery on the part of the great commanders Asaf Jáh (the Nizám) and Saádat Khán. Hence the

invader met with no resistance till he was within one hundred miles of Delhi. Here at KARNAL, he met and utterly routed the Indian army; and Muhammad had no resource but to give himself up as a prisoner, and he entered Delhi in the train of the conqueror. At first Nádir behaved with great courtesy towards his captive, and appeared inclined to spare the vanquished people; but enraged by some risings of the inhabitants of Delhi in which many Persians were slain, he at length gave orders for an indiscriminate massacre, which lasted for nearly a whole day. Shortly afterwards, laden with an immense booty (which included the celebrated peacock-throne of Sháh Jahán) he left Delhi and returned home; having first reinstated Muhammad on the throne, and having sent messengers to the chief Indian potentates (including the Mahrattas) to threaten them with his vengeance if they did not obey the emperor.

§ 134. The Peshwá, Báji Ráo, died in 1740. [Chap. V., § 32]. This led Nizám-ul-mulk, whose power in Delhi was supreme, again to leave Court for the Deccan (1741). His eldest son Gházi-ud-dín I., and his relative Kamar-ud-dín, were left as the emperor's confidential advisers. He died the same year as the emperor, A.D. 1748; Sáadat Khán had died whilst Nádir Shah was in possession of Delhi.

§ 135. The Rohillas at this period rose into importance. The district now called Rohilkhand was occupied by Alí Muhammad, an Afghán freebooter, in 1744 [*see* Chap. VII., § 73].

§ 136. The famous Ahmad Khán (commonly known as Ahmad Sháh Abdáli or Durráni) was the hereditary chief of the Afghán tribe formerly called Abdális, and named by him Durránis. He had risen into notice in the armies of Nádir Sháh; and on the death of the latter, succeeded in seating himself on the throne of Kandahár, and almost immediately marched against India, A.D. 1747.

§ 137. In this his first invasion he was driven back by the valour and skill of Prince Ahmad and the Vazír Kamar-ud-dín, in the battle of SARHIND, A.D. 1748. This was the last successful exploit of the Mughuls.

§ 138. During this expedition, the faithful vazír Kamar-ud-dín was killed by a shot while praying in his tent. He was Muha-

mad's faithful friend and companion; and his death hastened that of his master, which happened in April 1748, after a troubled reign of 30 years.

§ 139. During this reign the eastern súbahs became virtually independent. Múrshid Kulí Khán, the powerful Súbahdár of Bengal was succeeded in 1725 by Shujá-ud-dín, who died while Nádir Sháh was in Delhi. His son was overthrown by an Umará named Alívirdi Khán, a man of talent and experience, whom the emperor confirmed in his usurped dominion [*see* Chap. VII., § 35].

PART XIII.—AHMAD SHAH. A.D. 1748—1754.

§ 140. Second Invasion of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. § 141 Gházi-ud-dín II. § 142. Holkár in Delhi. § 143. Dismemberment of the empire.

§ 140. The thirteenth Mughul Emperor was Ahmad Sháh, a son of Muhammad Sháh. His great antagonist was his name-sake, Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, who now made his second invasion; and peace was purchased, contrary to the wishes of the Umarás, by the premature cession to him of the provinces of Láhor and Multán in 1748. The most important men of this reign were—

Safdar Jang, nephew of Saádat Khán, and his successor in Oudh; and Gházi-ud-dín, eldest son of Nizám-ul-mulk.

§ 141. Gházi-ud-dín, accompanied by Holkár and Sindia, soon left for the Deccan, where his father, the old Nizám, had died in 1748, but he too was shortly poisoned [§ 163]. He left behind him a nephew Mír Shaháb-ud-dín, or Gházi-ud-dín II.; between whom and Safdar Jang were subsequently renewed the feuds of the old Nizám and Saádat Khán. The Mahrattas, under Malhár Ráo Holkár and Jayapa Sindia, espoused the cause of Gházi-ud-dín II; the Játs, under Suraj Mall, Raja of Bhartpur, aided Safdar Jang. The weak emperor feared to side with either, and was treacherous to each in turn.

§ 142. Holkár, by a bold movement, drove the emperor into Delhi, which he took. The nobles then, at the instigation of Gházi-ud-dín II., pronounced Ahmad unworthy to reign in 1754. He was blinded and consigned to prison where he died.

§ 143. The Mughul empire was in a wretched state. Gujarát, Bengal, Bihár, Orissa, Oudh, Rohilkhand, the Panjáb, the Deccan (both the portions occupied by the sons of the old Nizám, and that possessed by the Mahrattas), and the Carnatic were fairly severed from the empire. Gházi-ud-dín II. was able to enact the part of king-maker; and he set up as emperor the uncle of the unfortunate Ahmad.

PART XIV.—ALAMGIR II. A.D. 1754—1759.

§ 144. Accession of Alamgír II. § 145. Affairs of Oudh. § 146. Alí Gauhar, and Gházi-ud-dín II. § 147. Third Invasion of Ahmad Sháh. Abdáli. § 148. Outrages of Gházi-ud-dín. § 149. Invasion of the Panjáb by the Mahrattas. § 150. Fourth Invasion of Ahmad Sháh Abdáli and death of the Emperor. § 151. Fate of Gházi-ud-dín.

§ 144. Alamgír II. was the man chosen; and he was assassinated by order of Gházi-ud-dín II. in November 1759.

§ 145. The Nawáb of Oudh, Safdar Jang, died about this time, and was succeeded by Shujá-ud-daulah [Chap. VIII, § 5]. Safdar Jang, who had also been vazír of the empire, had experienced much trouble from the Rohillas, whom he had only reduced to subjection by the aid of the Mahrattas [see § 135]. The empire was thus at the mercy of marauders.

§ 146. The most prominent men of this reign were:—(1) ALI GAUHAR, the son of the emperor, and heir-apparent, who at the time of his father's accession was 32 years of age. He was a brave and generous man: and subsequently became emperor under the title of Sháh Alam II; (2) the king-maker, Gházi-ud-dín II., who secured for himself the office of vazír on the death of Safdar Jang. By his rashness and selfishness, he brought on the empire the calamities of another invasion by the dreaded Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. Mír Manu, the son of Kamar-ud-dín [§ 137], and viceroy of the Panjáb, had died in Láhor, 1756; but the Abdáli confirmed his infant son in the Government, under the guardianship of the widow and Adínah Beg Khan, a Mughul of great experience, but a traitor, who had always encouraged the Afghán invasions. The Panjáb soon fell into great disorder, in consequence of which the Síkhs increased rapidly. Gházi-ud-dín now determined to invade the province. He took with him the heir-ap

parent, seized upon the regent and her daughter, to whom he had been betrothed: carried them to Delhi, and appointed Adínah Beg governor of the province.

§ 147. Ahmad immediately crossed the Attock (it was his third invasion) and marched to Delhi. The adroit Gházi-ud-dín, by the intercession of his mother-in-law whom he had pacified was pardoned; and rose higher than before, being employed by the conqueror to collect tribute and plunder. Ahmad Sháh Abdáli entered Delhi, 11th September, 1757. A pestilence hastened his return to Kábul. He left his son Tímúr Sháh as viceroy in Láhor; and a Rohilla chief, Nazíb-ud-daulah, chief minister at Delhi.

§ 148. Gházi-ud-dín soon expelled Nazíb-ud-daulah by the help of the Máhratta Raghoba, imprisoned the emperor's friends, and laid hands upon the heir-apparent himself. In fact he gave way without restraint to the despotic violence and cruelty of his natural character. The prince, however, escaped, and, after many wanderings, engaged (1759) in the invasion of Bihár, the result of which is given in Chap. VII., § 49.

§ 149. This was the time (1758) when Raghoba, at the suggestion of Gházi-ud-dín and the invitation of Adínah Beg again a traitor, made that expedition into the Panjáb which led to the ruin of the Mahratta power in the terrible overthrow of the third battle of Pánipat in 1761 [*see* Chap. V., § 43]. He overran the Panjáb, and returned triumphant, but with no spoil; having incurred a ruinous expense, and roused an enemy the most terrible the Mahrattas ever encountered—Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, who now made his fourth and most terrible invasion of Hindústan.

§ 150. He advanced towards Delhi in September 1759, prepared to take full vengeance upon the whole Mahratta race. Gházi-ud-dín, whose restless and cruel ambition had thrown everything into confusion, now consummated his crimes by the murder of the harmless emperor, whose headless trunk was thrown into the Jamnah. This was in November, 1759.

§ 151. The assassin then set up a son of Kámbaksh by the title of Sháh Jahán; but was obliged to flee from Delhi, and take refuge with Súráj Mall, the Jat leader.

PART XV.—SHAH ALAM II.; AND THE LAST MUGHUL EMPERORS.

§ 152. Ahmad Sháh Abdáli in Delhi. § 153. The Mahrattas defeated in the third battle of Pánipat. § 154. Sháh Alam II, a British pensioner. § 155. Death of Nazíb-ud-daulah. § 156. The Emperor joins the Mahrattas. § 157. The Mahrattas supreme in Delhi. § 158. Atrocities of Ghulám Kádir. § 159. The blind Emperor rescued by Lord Lake in 1803. § 160. Akbar, and Muhammad Bahádúr, the last of the race of Timúr.

§ 152. Ahmad Sháh Abdáli now a second time sacked Delhi (1760); but soon retired to his camp at Anúpshahr on the Ganges.

§ 153. The Mahrattas, under Sivadás Ráo [*see* chap. V., § 41] captured Delhi; where they elevated Jawán Bakht, son of the absent Sháh Alam, to the throne. There was a proposal to place Viswas Ráo, the heir-apparent of the Peshwá, on the throne, but this was judged inexpedient. After the third battle of Pánipat the victorious Abdáli again occupied Delhi, from whence he sent an embassy to Sháh Alam or Alí Gauhar, acknowledging him as emperor, and placing his son Jawán Bakht, as regent. He then quitted India.

§ 154. The proceedings of Sháh Alam, who was fighting against the English in Bihár, while Ahmad Sháh Abdáli was crushing the Mahrattas at Pánipat, are given in Chap. VII., § 49. For more than ten years, the emperor was an exile, for the most part in Allahábád, where he kept up a kind of a Court as a British pensioner. It was not worth his while to attempt to return to Delhi, where Nazíb-ud-daulah, the Vazír, and the young prince managed affairs with great prudence. Ahmad Sháh Abdáli only once more visited India; when he came to assist Nazíb-ud-daulah. Having defeated the Sikhs in several actions, he advanced to Pánipat, but soon returned finally to Kandahár.

§ 155. At the end of 1770 we find Nazíb-ud-daulah, a virtuous and wise minister, dead; and his son Zábitah Khán fillin
place. The Mahrattas occupy Delhi, where the prince rege
royal family reside. Sháh Alam is still a pensioner in Alla
At this time the Mahrattas made overtures to the emperor,
for a large sum of money to restore him to his position in

The English dissuaded him from putting himself into their hands, but imposed no restraint.

§ 156. In 1771 he thus, escorted by an English force, crossed the borders of the district of Allahábád, to join his new friends, the Mahrattas; and from that time the Mughul sovereign never claimed the right to interfere in the provinces to the east of that boundary.

§ 157. There were now two great parties in Delhi—the Musalmáns anxious to retain their scanty possessions, and the Mahrattas striving to recover what they had lost at Pánipat. Zábítah and his army were soon driven out of Delhi, and the Mahrattas were supreme [Chap. V., § 53].

§ 158. The further history of the nominal ruler of Delhi is of little importance. The eldest son of Zábítah Khán was Ghulám Kádir, who, on his father's death in 1786, succeeded to his estates. This young chief asserted his claim to the honours possessed by his father, openly rebelled against the emperor, got possession of Delhi and of Sháh Alam's person, and under the pretence that he had concealed treasures, after heaping every species of indignity on the poor old emperor, struck out his eyes with his dagger. The emperor's sons and grandsons had been previously tortured before his eyes, August 1788. One of these was the Muhammad, who permitted, if he did not instigate, similar atrocities in the same place in Delhi in 1857 [Chap. VIII., § 187].

§ 159. The poor blind emperor was soon rescued by the Mahrattas; but remained in extreme penury, until in 1833 (September 16) he was rescued by Lord Lake [Chap. V., § 93]. He died, December 18, 1806. The sceptre of Hindústán then passed into the hands of the British Government. Retribution fell on Ghulám Kádir; for falling into the hands of Sindia, he was horribly tortured, mutilated, and at length his head was sent to be laid at the feet of his sightless victim in Delhi.

§ 160. Jawán Bakht, after many attempts to place his father in his rightful position, disappeared in 1770. The second son, *Akbar*, succeeded to the nominal dignity in 1806, and was the sixteenth Mughul Emperor. His son was Muhammad Bahádúr ho was the last of the race of Tímúr the Tatár. For an account

of his crimes and his fate, *see* Chap. X., §§ 143, 156. His sons and grandson, infamous for their barbarous treatment of English prisoners, in the mutiny, were shot by Captain Hodson, near Humáyún's tomb, September 22, 1857.

PART XVI.—RECENT HISTORY OF HAIDARABAD, AND OF OUDH.

§ 161. Salábat Jang. § 162. He is attacked by the Mahrattas § 163. Aided by the French. § 164. Cession of territory to the Mahrattas. § 165. Cession of the Northern Circars to the French. § 166 French expedition to Mysor. § 167. French driven out of the Northern Circars by the English. § 168. Succession of Nizám Alí. § 169. The Mahrattas and Mysor. § 170. Treaty with the English. § 171. Death of Nizám Alí. § 172. Sikandar Jáh, Násir-ud-daulah, and Afzal-ud-daulah. § 173. Treaty of 1853. § 174. Recent history of Oudh.

§ 161. Having followed the history of the Mughul Empire to its fall, we must now give some account of the kingdom founded in the Deccan by Nizám-ul-mulk [*see* §§ 121, 129]. The events that followed the death of the old Nizám, up to the installation of Salábat Jang as Súbáhdár at Aurangábád under the protection of the Frenchman Bussy, are given in Chap. VII., §§ 11—18.

§ 162. The eldest son, Gházi-ud-dín, had at first avoided a contest for his father's dominions. He now despising the weak and effeminate Salábat, induced Báláji Báji Ráo, the third Peshwá, to aid him in an effort to overthrow him. Salábat, by a bribe of two lakhs, induced the Peshwá to retire in 1751 [Chap. V., § 35].

§ 163. Meanwhile, Bussy consolidated his power, and maintaining strict discipline, kept his French force in a state of admirable efficiency. He saved Salábat from the Mahrattas by a masterly march on Púna, and by two brilliant victories over the Mahratta horse and the entire army of the Peshwá. An armistice being concluded, Salábat and Bussy returned to Aurangábád, where Gházi-ud-dín, with a large army, soon arrived, and would perhaps have succeeded in seating himself on the throne had not the mother of the fourth son of Nizám-ul-mulk, Nizám Alí, who

hoped to see her own son on the throne, administered poison to him (1752), and thus removed one of the two persons who stood between Nizám Ali and the elevation which he afterwards attained.

§ 164. The cession of a large tract of country north of the Wain Ganga induced the Mahrattas to depart, leaving Salábat unmolested. Haidarábád now became the capital [Chap. V., § 35].

§ 165. In 1753 Bussy having been ill-treated by the Súbahdár, managed things with such a firm and skilful hand that he contrived to obtain, as the price of his forgiveness, a grant of the Northern Circars, stretching along the coast for nearly 400 miles from the Chilka Lake to the Pennár, possessing an area of 1,700 square miles, well watered by the Krishna and Godávárí, and yielding an annual revenue of £400,000. This was by far the most valuable possession up to that time acquired by any European power in India.

§ 166. In 1755 Bussy accompanied Salábat on an expedition to Mysor; and in 1758 he saved Salábat from falling beneath the intrigues of his brother, Nizám Alí, and the minister Nawáz Khán.

§ 167. On the 18th June, 1758, Bussy was recalled by Count Lally; and was compelled to retire from the Deccan when he was arbiter of its destinies [Chap. VII., § 30]. The same year Colonel Forde, sent by Clive from Calcutta, drove the French from the Northern Circars, and obtained a grant of them from the terrified Salábat Jang.

§ 168. Now came the contest between the Peshwá Báláji and Salábat Jang [Chap. V., § 40.] Salábat Jang was dethroned in 1761 by his brother Nizám Alí, and was put to death by him in 1763. Nizám Alí then invaded the Carnatic, but was stopped by the English. Negotiations were entered into for an imperial grant of the Northern Circars, which was given; but with unaccountable timidity the Madras Government consented, by the treaty of 1766, to hold this province from Nizám Alí by the payment of eight lakhs a year.

§ 169. Nizám Alí was continually involved in quarrels with the Mahrattas and with the now formidable power of Mysor; an account of these will be found in Chaps. V., §§ 71, 78, 79, and VIII., § 44.

§ 170. In 1798 Lord Wellesley made a treaty with the Nizám, by which a contingent of 6,000 troops was to be supported by the Nizám, and the French expelled. This alliance has not been broken. The districts of *Ballári* (Bellary) and *Kadapa* (Cuddapah), commonly called the "Ceded Districts," were made over in 1800, for the support of this contingent.

§ 171. Nizám Alí died in 1803, four days after the great second Mahratta war began.

§ 172. Sikandar Jáh, his son, was put on the throne by Lord Wellesley. The Haidarábád authorities scandalously neglected their obligations during the Mahratta war of 1803: yet Lord Wellesley generously made over Barár (taken from Nágpur) to the Nizám. The latter died in 1828. Násir-ud-daulah succeeded him. He died in 1857. The next Nizám was Afzal-ud-daulah. He died in 1869.

§ 173. In 1853 arrangements became necessary to secure the payment of the British contingent, maintained according to the treaty of 1801. This the Nizám could not secure; and certain districts in Barár (referred to above) were made over temporarily to the British Government. The result has been every way beneficial. Those districts themselves had been given to the Nizám by the English.

§ 174. The other kingdom, rendered virtually independent in the time of Muhammad Sháh, *viz.*, that of Oudh, was annexed to the British empire by Lord Dalhousie, in 1856. It had never peace or prosperity from the days of the famous "Persian Pedlar," who founded it, till its annexation. From Sáadat Khán to Wájid Alí Sháh, who was deposed in 1856, eleven princes had governed Oudh, including both those rulers. In 1819, by the advice of the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, the Nawáb assumed the title of king, and renounced all dependence upon the king of Delhi. The government went on from bad to worse, till there was no alternative but annexation. The country was finally settled by Sir [illegible] (now Lord) Lawrence in 1867.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE DECCAN DURING THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

PART I.—FROM THE FIRST IRRUPTION OF THE MUHAMMADANS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM. A.D. 1294—1347.

§ 1. State of the Deccan at the time of the irruption of the Muhammadans. § 2. Invasion of Alá-ud-dín Khiljí. § 3. Malik Kafúr. § 4. Mubárak Khiljí and Khusrau. § 5. Conquest of Warangal by Ulugh Khán. § 6. Establishment of independent Kingdoms in the Deccan. § 7. Hasan Gango Bahmani.

§ 1. The history of the Deccan has been treated of in Chapter I., Part XIV. Occasional notices of its history have also been given in Chapters II. and III. But it is necessary for the student to get a more connected view of the subject.

A reference to Chapter I., Part XIV., will show that the Deccan was, at the time of the Muhammadan invasions, divided into a number of principalities. Dwára Samudra, in North Mysor, was the capital of a powerful dynasty called the Ballála Rájas. An allied Rájpút dynasty was reigning in Deogiri (or Deogarh), the modern Daulatábád. An *Andhra* dynasty was reigning on the eastern side, in Telingánah; their capital being Warangal.

§ 2. Ala-ud-dín Khiljí in A.D. 1294, with 8,000 cavalry, marched through Barar to Ilichpur, and from thence to Deogiri (or Deogarh), where Rámdeo was then reigning. After a show of resistance, the Rájpúts agreed to pay an immense ransom, and to cede Ilichpur and its dependencies. The weakness of the Hindú power in the Deccan was thus unveiled to the unscrupulous Musalmán leaders; and thus the Muhammadans, by the rash zeal of Alá-ud-dín, obtained a footing in the south.

§ 3. Four great expeditions into the south were undertaken during the reign of Alá-ud-dín, under Malik Kafúr [Chap. II.,

§ 48], A.D. 1306, 1309, 1310, 1312. Kafúr seems to have taken Madura in the last of these expeditions. In the course of these, Rámdeo was induced to visit Delhi, where his treatment was so generous that he returned the attached and faithful vassal of the emperor. The Ballála Rájás of Dwára Samudra were also conquered, Warangal made tributary, and the whole of the south ravaged as far as Rámeswar or Cape Comorin in the extreme south, where a mosque was built as the sign of Muhammadan supremacy.

§ 4. Harpál, a son-in-law of Rámdeo, strove to throw off the yoke; but was overcome and flayed alive by Mubárak Khiljí (A.D. 1318), who led the expedition himself. At the same time Malabar was conquered by Khusrau, who subsequently obtained the throne of Delhi.

§ 5. Ulugh Khán (Júná Khán, or Muhammad bin Tughlak), the second of the house of Tughlak, both before and after his accession, led armies into the Deccan (A.D. 1322—1326) [*see* Chap. II., § 55]. After a severe repulse, he finally took Warangal (A.D., 1323). Fugitives from this place founded Vijayanagar (Bíjánagar) on the banks of the Tumbadra, A.D. 1336. It was 24 miles in circumference, and its ruins are of the highest interest.

§ 6. As Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign was marked by the establishment of the powerful Hindú kingdom of Vijayanagar, so was it also by the establishment of the *first independent* Muhammadan kingdom in the Deccan. The Amírs of the Deccan had incurred the displeasure of Muhammad by sheltering some rebellious nobles from Gujarát. These broke out into rebellion; and at length Zafar Khan, an Afghán, was recognised as their leader, and having overthrown the imperial general, was elected their sovereign. He had been the slave of a Bráhman called Gango, who is said to have foretold his rise, and to have shown him singular kindness.

§ 7. He assumed the title of Sultán Alá-ud-dín Hasan Gango Bahmani; the last two titles (the Bráhman Gango) being in honour of his old master and benefactor. This was in A.D. 1347. The new Sultán was wise and conciliating, as well as brave. H

reigned for ten years, at peace with the Hindú kings. The capital of this kingdom was Gulbargah, west of Golkondah.

PART II.—FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BAHMANÍ DYNASTY TO THE ABSORPTION OF THE DECCAN IN THE MUGHUL EMPIRE. A.D. 1347—1640.

§ 8. The Bahmani Dynasty. § 9. Muhammád Sháh I. § 10. Prosperity of the Bahmani Kingdom. § 11. Five Kingdoms formed on its Ruins. § 12. The Adil Sháhí Dynasty of Bíjápur. § 13. The Nízam Sháhí Dynasty of Ahmadnagar. § 14. The Kutb Sháhí Dynasty of Golkondah. § 15. The Imád Sháhí Dynasty of Barár. § 16. Bídar and Khándesh. § 17. The Portuguese. § 18. The Hindú Kingdom of Bíjánagar. § 19. Subsequent History.

§ 8. The Bahmani dynasty, consisting of eighteen kings, reigned in the Deccan for more than one hundred and fifty years. (A.D. 1347 to 1526.)

§ 9. At the death of Hasan Gango Bahmani, his rule extended over nearly all Mahárashtra, a small portion of Telingánah, together with a portion of the Carnatic. When Muhammád Sháh I. succeeded Hasan Gango, he divided the kingdom into four parts, or *tarafs*—*viz.*, Gulbargah, Daulatábád, Telingánah, and Barár.

§ 10. The kingdom was at its zenith in the time of Muhammad Sháh I., and his three successors Ghiás-ud-dín, Shams-ud-dín, and Fírúz Sháh (A.D. 1378—1422.) It was largely increased by successive conquests; and under Muhammád Sháh II., in 1463, the old divisions were subdivided respectively into (1) Bíjápur and Ahsanábád; (2) Daulatábád and Juner; (3) Rájamandri and Warangal; (4) Gawal and Mehur. The dynasty became extinct on the death of Kalím-ullah in 1526; and out of the above provinces were formed the dominions of the several dynasties called Adil Sháhí, Nizám Sháhí, Kutb Sháhí, Imád Sháhí and Báríd Sháhí.

§ 11. The Governors of these provinces made themselves independent at different periods after A.D. 1489; thus forming with the Hindú State of Bíjánagar, six powerful kingdoms of the Deccan which the Mughul successors of Bábar eventually subjugated. The struggles between the Muhammadan powers in the Deccan

and the Mughul Emperors, afforded an opportunity to the Mahrattas to rise upon the ruins of both. No greater misfortune could have befallen the Musalmán dominion than this civil strife.

§ 12. Adil Sháh founded the Bíjápur kingdom, A. D. 1489. From him this dynasty was called the Adil Sháhí. The kingdom survived till 1686, when it was destroyed by Aurangzeb. Its struggles with Sivaji are related in Chap. V., § 7. The Mahrattas were very numerous in the armies of this State. The splendid ruins of Bíjápur still bear witness to the extraordinary grandeur of the city. The limits of the Bíjápur State may be roughly stated to have been from the Nira on the north to the Tumbudra on the south, and from the Bhíma and Krishna on the east to the sea-coast from Goa to Bombay on the west.

§ 13. The second of these kingdoms was that of Ahmadnagar governed by the Nizám Sháhí dynasty. This was founded by Malik Ahmad, son of Nizám-ul-mulk, an apostate Bráhman of Bíjápur. He asserted his independence in A.D. 1487. Chánd Bíbí defended this State against the armies of Akbar; and Malik Ambar was one of its heroes and statesmen. This kingdom remained till 1637, when it was finally destroyed by Sháh Jahán, [*see* Chap. III., §§ 44, 45, 58, 72].

The dominion of this State extended over the Súbah of Aurangábád and west Barár, with a portion of the Concan from Damán to Bombay.

§ 14. The Golkondah or Kutb Sháhi dynasty was the third of the Dakhíni Musalmán kingdoms. It was founded by Kutb-ul-mulk, in 1512. It extended from Bíjápur and Ahmadnagar to the sea on the east. The kingdom of Golkondah was finally subverted by Aurangzeb, A.D. 1687 [Chap. III. §§ 59, 98].

§ 15. The Barár kingdom was founded in 1484 by Fath-Ullah, and in 1574 was annexed to the Ahmadnagar state. The dynasty was called the Imád Sháhi. The capital was Ilichpur.

§ 16. It is sufficient to name the Baríd Sháhí dynas Bídar; and the kingdom of Khándesh to which Gu belonged, which in 1599 was incorporated by Akbar [Cha § 46.]

§ 17. The history of these kingdoms of the Deccan is connected with that of the Portuguese, from A.D. 1498 till the middle of the 17th century [*see* Chap. VI].

§ 18. The Hindú kingdom of Vijayanagar (Bíjánagar or Narsingha) long maintained its place among the powers of the Deccan. Its limits nearly corresponded with those of the Madras presidency. But in 1565, the jealousy of the Muhammadan kings of Bíjápur, Ahmadnagar, Golkondah, and Bídar led them to combine to effect its destruction, at the time when Akbar was reigning at Delhi. The king then was Rám Rájá, the seventh of the dynasty of Narsingha. He was defeated by the forces of the Muhammadans at TALIKOT on the Krishna; the allies behaved with great cruelty after their victory, and slaughtered the aged Rám Rájá in cold blood.

The territories subject to the Bíjánagur kingdom now fell into the hands of petty princes of the country, or insurgent officers of the late government, subsequently known as zamindárs or polígárs. The brother of Rám Rájá settled at Chandragiri, 70 miles N. W. of Madras, near Tripati. He made a grant to the English in A.D. 1640 of the site of the city of Madras.

§ 19. The struggles of the kingdoms, whose history has been here briefly sketched, with the Mughúl Emperors from Akbar to Aurangzeb, will be found in somewhat greater detail in Chap. III, in the Mughul history; those with the Mahrattas, followed by Mahratta ascendancy in a large part of the Deccan, will be found in the Mahratta history in Chap. V. The more modern history of the Deccan is to be looked for in that of the State founded by Nizám-ul-mulk at Haidarábád in 1723 [*see* Chap. III., Part XVI.]; in that of the wars of the French and English in the Carnatic [*see* Chap. VII.]; and in that of the kingdom of Mysor [*see* Chap. VIII.]

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS.

PART I.—MAHRATTA HISTORY TO THE DEATH OF SIVAJI. A.D. 1680.

§ 1. The Mahratta Country. § 2. The Concan. § 3. Hill Forts. § 4. The Bhonslé Family. § 5. Sivaji. § 6. His Youth. § 7. His Rapid Progress. § 8. The Murder of Afzal Khán. § 9. Sivaji attacks the Mughuls. § 10. Sacks Súrat. § 11. Submits to Aurangzeb. § 12. Visits Delhi. § 13. Resumes his Independence. § 14. Is solemnly enthroned. § 15. His Carnatic Expedition. § 16. His son Sambaji. § 17. His Death.

§ 1. The country of the Mahrattas, or Maháráshtra (the great province), is bounded on the north by the Sátpúra mountains, and extends from about Súrat on the west, to the Wain Ganga, east of Nágpur. The boundary follows that river till it falls into the Warda, on to Mánikdrug, thence to Mehur, and thence to Goa. On the west it is bounded by the ocean. It is watered by the Narbaddah, the Táptí, the Godávarí, the Bhíma, the Krishna, and their many tributaries.

§ 2. The Concan is the country fvom the Western Gháts to the sea, from Sivadásagarh to the Táptí. It is an uneven country, with high hills and thick jungles, having only narrow defiles reaching up to the table lands. It varies in breadth from 25 to 50 miles.

§ 3. The character of the Mahrattas has in all periods been much affected by a peculiarity in the physical geography of their country. Huge masses of basaltic rock, protruded through the alluvial soil throughout the whole country, rice to the height of from forty to four hundred feet. These, with little labour, are capable of being made into fortresses very difficult of access and of great strength. These were the Mahratta Hill-forts.

§ 4. There were many very respectable and wealthy chiefs among the Mahrattas in the times of the early Muhammadan kings, and [illegible] of Mahrattas were in their armies, and even [illegible] under them. One family especially, [illegible] had its principal residence at Ellor, near [illegible]. [illegible] family was the renowned SIVAJI. His grandfather was [illegible], commander of a party of horse in the service of [illegible] A.D. 1577. Malloji's eldest son was Sahaji. He was [illegible] in the Ahmadnagar court. It was [illegible] goddess, according to Mahratta legends, [illegible] should become king, restore Hindú customs, [illegible] and be the first of a line of twenty-[illegible] in the land. Sahaji fought under Malik Ambar, and [illegible] in the Bijapur government against Mahábat Khan.

§ 5. Sivaji, the great founder of the Mahratta power, was the second son of Sahaji. He was born at the fort of Sónar in A.D. 1627. He was early taught all that it was considered necessary for a Mahratta gentleman to know, but he never could write his name. He was brought up a zealous Hindú, thoroughly versed in the mythological and legendary stories current among his countrymen. His hatred of Muhammadans prepared him for that [illegible] hostility to Aurangzeb which he led.

§ 6. From his boyhood he seems to have planned his after-career; and he was but nineteen years of age when he seized the hill fort of Torna, twenty miles S.W. of Púna. He found a large treasure in the ruins near this fort, which he spent in building another which he called Rajgarh.

§ 7. His advance was rapid. He obtained possession of Kondjanch (Singhgarh), Supa, and Púrandhar. Meanwhile he tried every art to deceive the Bijapur authorities, who probably thought they could crush him whenever they pleased. The suspicions of Muhammad Adil Shah being at length roused by the acts of open violence to which Sivaji proceeded, he sent for Shahji built him up in a stone dungeon, leaving only a small [illegible] was to be closed, if in a fixed time Sivaji did not [illegible] Sivaji now boldly entered into correspondenc[illegible] who by

his artful representations was induced to forgive Sháji, admit him into the imperial service, and to give Sivaji himself the command of 5,000 horse. By the Emperor's intercession Sháji's life was saved; but he remained a prisoner for four years.

Sivaji contrived to evade the fulfilment of his promise to enter the imperial service; and in A.D. 1651 actually carried his marauding expeditions into the Mughul territory. In 1650, Prince Aurangzeb had for the second time been made Súbahdár of the Deccan, and invaded the territories of Golkondah and Bíjápur. Sivaji now attacked both parties by turns; and availed himself of every turn of fortune to increase his power and possessions. His progress was favoured by the death, in 1656, of Muhammad Adil Sháh, who was succeeded by his son, a youth of nineteen.

§ 8. In 1659, the Bíjápur Government made an attempt to crush Sivaji, which he rendered unsuccessful by an act of treachery, celebrated in Mahratta history. He enticed their commander, Afzal Khán, to a conference; and in the customary embrace, he struck a *wagnákh* (a steel instrument with three crooked blades, like the claws of a tiger), which he had secreted for the purpose, into the bowels of his unfortunate enemy; and quickly despatched him with a *bichiwa*, or scorpion-shaped dagger. The Bíjápur troops disheartened at the loss of their general, were cut to pieces, or made prisoners.

The decisive advantage gained by this act of detestible treachery greatly benefited Sivaji's position; and many successful campaigns followed.

§ 9. In 1662, Sháista Khán was the Mughul viceroy of the Deccan; and Sivaji, at peace with Bíjápur, attacked the Mughuls, and ravaged the country to Aurangábád, where the viceroy lived. Sháista Khan marched southward, and, after storming Chákan, took up his abode in Púna in the very house where Sivaji was brought up. Sivaji now performed one of those exploits which more than anything else make his name famous among his countrymen. With a part of his men at nightfall he slipped unperceived into the city, mingled with a marriage procession, passed through the out-offices of the well-known house, and almost surprised the Khán in his bed chamber. The Mughul escaped with the loss

of two fingers; but his son and attendants were slain. Sivaji made off, and ascended his hill fort of Singhgarh (twelve miles off), amidst a blaze of torches. If this adventure did nothing else, it inspirited his men, and taught them to despise the Mughuls.

§ 10. His next exploit was the sack of Súrat; the English factory alone escaping, by the determined valour of its defenders. This was particularly offensive to Aurangzeb, as pilgrims to Mecca embarked from Súrat hence called Bab-ul-Makkah, *the gate of Mecca*. Sivaji, in 1664, assumed the title of Rájá and began to coin money. He also collected a fleet of 85 ships, sailed down the coast, sacked Barcelor, and plundered the adjacent country. He even attacked some vessels conveying pilgrims to Mecca, and thus doubly roused the indignation of Aurangzeb, ever the champion of the Muhammadan faith.

§ 11. The Emperor now sent a formidable army under Mirza Rájá, a gallant officer, to chastise Sivaji. The latter lost one fort after another, and at length was cooped up in his strong castle of Púrandhar, and compelled to come to terms with the Emperor. By the agreement of PURANDHAR he surrendered twenty of his forts, retaining twelve as a Jágír. His son Sambaji was to become a commander of 5,000 horse in the Mughul army. He was also to have certain assignments of revenues, called *chauth* (or *the fourth*) and *sirdeshmukhi* (or 10 per cent.), on some districts of Bíjápur. This was the ground for the ill-defined claims of the Mahrattas in aftertimes to plunder and extort tribute from the inhabitants of every province of the empire. Sivaji now joined the imperial army, and so distinguished himself in the invasion of Bíjápur that the emperor wrote him a complimentary letter, and invited him to Delhi.

§ 12. Sivaji, accordingly, in March 1666, with his son, set out for the Court. Aurangzeb received him haughtily; and Sivaji finding himself slighted, and in fact a prisoner, contrived to escape with Sambaji, and reached Ráigarh in December. Thus did the Emperor foolishly lose an opportunity of converting an enemy into a firm friend and vassal.

§ 13. Sivaji now openly, for a time, resumed his old attitude of defiance; but soon, through the intercession of Jeswant Singh,

obtained most favourable terms from Aurangzeb; and in fact was left in perfect independence, though doubtless this was done with the intention of crushing him, when an opportunity should present itself. In 1668, he compelled the Courts of Bíjápur and Golkondah to pay him tribute. He employed the years 1668 and 1669 in revising and completing the internal arrangements of his kingdom.

At this time Sultán Muazzam and Jeswant Singh were regularly receiving money from Sivaji. This coming to the knowledge of Aurangzeb, he wrote to threaten both with punishment, if the "mountain-rat" were not seized. Sivaji, now roused into activity, began to seize upon the forts around; and the storming of Ráigarh is specially famous. He also a second time sacked Súrat; but the English again successfully defended their factory.

§ 14. In 1674, Sivaji was solemnly enthroned at Ráigarh. He was then weighed against gold; and the sum, 16,000 pagodas, given to Bráhmans. From that time he assumed the most high-sounding titles, and maintained more than royal dignity in all his actions.

§ 15. In 1676, Sivaji undertook his celebrated expedition into the Carnatic. His object was to enforce his claims to half the possessions of his father Sháji. In his way he had an interview with Kutb Sháh of Golkondah, when a treaty was negociated between them. He soon made himself master of the whole of his father's jagír, took Vellor and many places in the neighbourhood, and came to an agreement with his half-brother Venkaji, then in Tanjor, by which a portion of the revenues of the whole territory was to be paid him annually. On his return he plundered Jálna, and was attacked by Dilír Khán's orders on his way to Ráigarh with the plunder: but succeeded in beating off his assailants and making his escape.

§ 16. Sivaji had now a great affliction in the bad conduct of his son, Sambaji; who, being put under restraint for outrageous conduct, actually went over to Dilír Khán, who strove to use him in the furtherance of intrigues against his father; but, on the Emperor ordering that he should be sent a prisoner to Delhi, the Mughul general connived at his escape.

§ 17. Sivaji died at Ráigarh of fever, brought on by a swelling in his knee-joint, on the 5th April 1680. He was a daring soldier, a skilful general, and an able statesman. Though the predatory warfare which he carried on necessarily caused dreadful sufferings, he was always anxious to mitigate those sufferings as far as possible. In order to gain his ends he was sometimes guilty, as in the murder of Afzal Kháu, of the utmost cruelty and treachery. But he was never wantonly cruel; and it was possibly remorse for his crimes that caused the religious zeal, which he had always affected, to degenerate in his old age to superstition and austerity. This religious zeal, whether real or pretended, had the effect of infusing into the Mahrattas an intense national enthusiasm, which attached to their cause all those Hindú subjects of Delhi who were discontented with their Muhammadan masters.

PART II.—MAHRATTA HISTORY FROM THE DEATH OF SIVAJI TO THE LIBERATION OF SAHU. A.D. 1680—1708.

§ 18. Sambaji's Cruelty. § 19. Aurangzeb's Expedition into the Deccan and the death of Sambaji. § 20. Nominal Accession of Sáhu. § 21. The regent Rájá Rám.

§ 18. Sambaji succeeded to the throne, after overcoming a faction that wished to supersede him and to set up Rám Rájá, a younger son of Sivaji. He began his reign under most unfavourable circumstances. His father had foreseen the troubles that his unrestrained passions would bring on his people. He began by putting to death Soyerá Báí, the mother of Rám Rájá; and by this and other executions gained a character for relentless cruelty

§ 19. Sambaji, having espoused the cause of Sultán Muhammad Akbar against his father Aurangzeb, besieged Jinjíra, but in vain; and was engaged in petty hostilities with the Portuguese and English when tidings reached him of the design of Aurangzeb to undertake the subjugation of the entire Deccan. Sultán Muazzam was sent as viceroy to Aurangábád for the fourth time; and the Emperor soon followed (A.D. 1683), and took up his abode at Burhánpur.

Sambaji's wars with the Portuguese were disgraced by the barbarities committed by both parties; and neither gained any decided

success. During all Aurangzeb's victorious course from 1683 to 1689, Sambaji was most unaccountably in a state of nearly total inactivity. He was finally surprised in a state of intoxication at Sangameswar, with Kulusha his Bráhman minister. He was offered his life if he would become a Musalmán. "Tell the Emperor," said he, "that if he will give me his daughter, I will do so." He added words of bitter insult to Muhammad. The enraged Emperor ordered a red hot iron to be passed over his eyes, his tongue to be torn out, and his head to be cut off. He and his minister suffered at Tolapur, in August 1689. His death aroused the Mahrattas to form schemes of vengeance, but did not daunt them.

§ 20. Sambaji left a son six years old, whose name was Sivaji; but who is known in history by the name of SAHU (Sháo) meaning *thief*, a nickname given to him by the Emperor. This boy and his mother were taken prisoners soon after. He remained a prisoner till after Aurangzeb's death. He is considered the third Rájá of the Mahrattas.

§ 21. Meanwhile Rájá Rám, the half brother of Sambaji, was declared regent, and making a rapid flight, established his court at Ginji. Thither the Emperor first despatched Zulfikár Khán and Dáúd Khán Panni, and afterwards the Prince Kámbaksh; but owing to various intrigues, the place was not taken till 1698, and then Rájá Rám was allowed to escape and take refuge in Visalgarh. In 1700, the Emperor in person took Sátára; and in the same year Rájá Rám died. His widow Tárá Báí assumed the regency; and the strife between the Mughuls and Mahrattas was kept up till the Emperor's death, which took place in 1707.

PART III.—MAHRATTA HISTORY FROM THE LIBERATION OF SAHU TO THE THIRD BATTLE OF PANIPAT. A.D. 1708—1761.

Nagpur Mahrattas. § 37. Raghoba. § 38. English War with the Pirates, § 39. The Mahrattas in Mysor. § 40. The Battle of Udgir. § 41. Events leading to the Third Battle of Pánipat. § 42. Preparations for the Battle. § 43. The Battle. § 44. Death of Bálaji Báji Ráo.

§ 22. Sáhu, the grandson of Sivaji, was still a prisoner. Aurangzeb had behaved to him with unvarying kindness; and had restored to him his grandfather's famous sword Bhaváni and the sword of the murdered Afzal Khán. There was even an intention at one time of releasing him, and of granting to the Mahrattas a percentage on the revenues of the districts they occupied, on the condition that they maintained tranquillity therein, and remained faithful to the Imperial Government. Azam Sháh, on his father's death, carried out this plan; and in 1708, Sáhu obtained possession of Sátára, though Tárá Báí and her son Sivaji affected to consider him an imposter, and strove to maintain their position till the death of the latter in 1712.

§ 23. Sáhu's power was consolidated by the wise measures of his able minister BALAJI VISWANATH; who, about this time (1712), was received into his service, and made Peshwá or prime-minister, an office which had carried little authority with it before his time, but which his ability soon made paramount, and which he was able to make hereditary in his family. From this time the Bráhman Peshwás are the real heads of the Mahratta confederation; the Rájás, the descendants of the great Sivaji, being merely nominal rulers, living in splendour, as state prisoners, in Sátára.

Sáhu, having been educated in the Mughul court was indolent and luxurious, delegating his power to his Peshwá, and openly acknowledging himself a vassal of Delhi; yet, under Báláji, the Mahratta power was at this time extended and consolidated in a most remarkable manner.

Negotiations between Sáhu and the Court of Delhi were set on foot; in consequence of which, in 1718, Báláji, in command of a large contingent, was sent to Delhi, to assist the Sayyids. This was the beginning of Mahratta influence in Delhi; with which, till 1803, they were so closely connected. At this time (A.D. 1720) the Syyid Husain, by treaty, ceded to them the *chauth*, or fourth part of the revenues of the Deccan, the *sirdeshmukhi*, or additional

ten per cent., and the *swárájí*, or absolute control of the districts about Púna and Sátára.

Báláji did not long survive his return. He died in October 1720, soon after the battle of Sháhpur; which destroyed the power of the Sayyids, and established Muhammad Sháh upon the throne of the decaying empire [Chap. III., § 127].

§ 24. BAJI RAO, the eldest son of Báláji, succeeded to the title, and is generally styled the second Peshwá.

§ 25. About the year 1724, several Mahratta officers, who afterwards became independent leaders or founders of States, rose to distinction. The first of these was Malhárji Holkár, a cavalry soldier of the Sudra caste. The second was Ránoji Sindia, a descendant of an old Rájpút family, who at one time occupied a humble position in the Peshwá's household, and was promoted for his fidelity in this post. The third was Udaji Puar, an enterprising warrior of Málwah. The fourth was Pelaji Gaikwar (or cowherd), son of Damaji, who by valour and treachery, rose to eminence. The fifth was Fath Singh Bhonslé, ancestor of the Rájás of Akalkot.

§ 26. Báji Ráo's great design was to extend Mahratta power in Hindústán. In a debate before Sáhu, he said, "Now is our time to drive strangers from the land of the Hindús, and to acquire immortal renown. By directing our efforts to Hindústán, the Mahratta flag in your reign shall fly from the Krishna to the Attock. Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree (the Mughul empire), and the branches must fall of themselves!" Sáhu, roused for the moment to the display of something like the spirit of his grandfather, replied "You shall plant my flag on the Himalaya. You are the noble son of a worthy father."

§ 27. The founding of the Kolhapur Raj was the first great schism among the Mahrattas. *Sambaji*, the son of Rajis Bái, the younger wife of Raja Ram, was the rival of Sahu; and Nizam-ul-mulk strove to foment the rivalries between the courts of Kolhapur and Sátára; but the former never attained any great influence.

§ 28. By 1734, Mahratta power was fully established in Málwah where Jaí Singh, the Rájpút governor, appointed by the Emper was entirely under their influence.

§ 29. In 1736, Bájí Ráo, with his Mahrattas, appeared under the walls of Delhi; and now Nizám-ul-mulk was induced, for a time, to return and assist the harassed emperor. He collected troops from every quarter; and marching into Málwah, met Bájí Ráo near Bhopál. Both armies were large and well supplied. Nizám-ul-mulk allowed himself to be surrounded; and, unable to escape from the blockade, was compelled to sign a convention, granting to the Peshwá the whole of Málwah and the territory between the Narbaddah and the Chambal, and to engage to try to obtain fifty lakhs of rupees from the Emperor, to pay the Peshwá's expenses.

§ 30. Soon after this, the tidings of the arrival of Nádir Sháh reached Bájí Ráo. He was greatly excited by the intelligence. "There is now," said he, "but one enemy in Hindústán. Hindús and Musalmáns, the whole power of the Deccan must assemble, and I shall spread our Mahrattas from the Narbaddah to the Chambal." Nádir Sháh's retreat soon followed, and he addressed letters to Sáhu and to Bájí Ráo (among others), bidding them obey Muhammad Sháh, whom he had replaced on the throne, and threatening to return and punish them if they should disobey.

§ 31. There was now war between the Portuguese and the Mahrattas. The principal exlpoit that marks it, is the storming of Bassein, May 1739. This was the greatest siege ever undertaken by the Mahrattas; it crippled the Portuguese power.

§ 32. Bájí Ráo, successful against the Portuguese and in the northern part of the Mahratta dominions, aspired to the full conquest of the Deccan and the Carnatic. But this, his last campaign, was fruitless; and he was at length obliged to agree to a peace with Násir Jang, who was now the representative of Nizám-ul-mulk at Aurangábád. Bájí Ráo died in 1740. He was the greatest of the Peshwás, and the greatest of the whole Mahratta race except Sivaji. He was ambitious, a thorough soldier, hardy, self-denying, persevering, and, after his fashion, patriotic. He was no unworthy rival of Nizám-ul-mulk, and wielded the mighty arm of Mahratta power with incomparable energy.

§ 33. Báláji Báji Ráo, commonly called the Third Peshwá, succeeded his father; not, however, without . At this

time Raghuji Bhonslé may be looked upon as Rájá of Barár, Ananda Ráo Puar as Rájá of Dhar, Damaji Gaikwár as independent in Gujarát, Malhár Ráo Holkár in the south of Málwah, Jayaps Sindia in the north-east of Málwah, Fath Singh Bhonslé in Akalkot, while Sambaji reigned in Kolhápur. Sáhu was in his luxurious retirement in Sátára. PUNA about this time became the residence of the Peshwás, and may be regarded as the capital of the widely extended Mahratta confederacy. Their progress had been amazingly rapid.

Báláji now applied to the Emperor (Muhammad Sháh) for confirmation in his office, which was granted through the mediation of Rájá Jai Singh and Nizám-ul-mulk.

§ 34. Now began the invasions of Hindústán by Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, which ended in the terrible overthrow of the Mahrattas at Pánipat in 1761.

§ 35. Sáhu died in 1748, and was succeeded by Rám Rájá, the posthumous son of the second Sivaji, whose birth had been kept a secret (1712); but Baláji, with his usual duplicity, contrived to maintain his ground and to involve in ruin those who would have made the death of the Rájá an occasion for attempting to shake his power. His war with Salábat Jang and Bussy, though he sustained a great defeat from the French at Rájápur, resulted in a considerable gain of territory, in 1752 [*see* Chap. III., § 164].

§ 36. Meanwhile Raghuji Bhonslé had secured the whole province of Katak (Cuttack) as far as Baleswara (Balasor), and had wrested from the Haidarábád dominion all the districts between the Wain Ganga and the Godávári.

§ 37. It is about this time that *Raghunátha Ráo* (*or Raghoba*), brother of Báláji, who was to play such an important part in the *First* (English) *Mahratta War*, begins to appear in history.

§ 38. The English at this time came into closer contact with the Mahrattas. Along the western coast there were several chiefs of Abyssinian descent, called Sidis. The most important of these was the Sidi of Jinjíra, an island in the harbour of Rájápur. His ships swept the whole western coast. Another chief of great power was Tulaji Angria, one of a race of pirates, whose head-

quarters were at Viziadrúg or Gheriah, and Severndrúg or Suvarnadrúg. Several attempts were made by the English, in concert with the Peshwá, to rescue Súrat from the Sidi of Jinjíra, and to prevent the piracies of Angria. Commodore James took Severndrúg in March 1755; and in 1756, Colonel Clive, with Admiral Watson, by direction of the Bombay Government, undertook the utter destruction of the pirates' stronghold. This was effected [*see* Chap. VII., § 29].

§ 39. The year 1757, which the battle of Plassey has rendered memorable in English history, was marked by an invasion of the Carnatic by the Peshwá in person. Mysor was then under the power of Nandiráj, the diwán of Chik Kistna Ráyar; and Haidar Alí, an adventurer whose rise resembled that of Sivaji, was coming into notice. The Mahrattas levied tribute from Mysor, as well as from the Nawáb of Arcot, Muhammad Alí, then under British protection.

§ 40. In 1760, the Mahrattas obtained their greatest success as in 1761 they sustained their most disastrous defeat. The battles of Udgir (*Udyagiri*) and Pánipat respectively mark the attainment of their highest elevation and the destruction of their hopes of ever ruling India.

The Peshwá had obtained possession of Ahmadnagar; to wrest it from him, Salábat Jang and Nazám Alí marched against him. The result was complete victory to the Peshwá, at UDGIR. A treaty followed, by which Daulatábád, Asirgarh, Bíjápur, and the province of Aurangábád, were made over to the Mahrattas. The Mughuls were thus confined within the narrowest limits.

§ 41. Raghoba invaded Láhor in May 1758: making a splendid but temporary conquest. This was the cause of the war of the Mahrattas with Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, and from this may be dated the beginning of the decline of the Mahratta power. The Rohilla chief Nazíb-ud-daulah, and Shújá-ud-daulah, Nawáb of Oudh, took up arms in self-defence against the Mahrattas; and Ahmad Sháh Abdáli crossed the Indus once more, to aid the confederate Muhammadans against the hated Hindú race. He was, however, as much an object of terror to the one party as to the other.

At first, the Mahrattas, under Malhár Ráo Holkár and Dattaji Sindia, retreated along the west bank of the Jamnah, before Ahmad Sháh, and lost two-thirds of their number near Delhi. A further slaughter of Holkár's troops by the Afgháns took place at Sikandra near Delhi.

§ 42. Sivadás Ráo Bháo and Viswas Ráo, son of the Peshwá, now marched northward to recover the lost reputation of the Mahrattas, and to drive the Afgháns beyond the Attock. Their success at Udgir had unduly elated them. They had 20,000 chosen horse, and 10,000 infantry and artillery, under Ibráhím Khán Gardi, who had been trained by Bussy, though now in Mahratta employ.

The Mahrattas (and it was a sign of decay) contrary to old custom, took the field with great splendour. All Mahratta chiefs were ordered to join them. The total number of Mahratta troops assembled was 55,000 horse, 15,000 foot, and about 200,000 Pindáris and followers. They had also 200 pieces of cannon. The Muhammadans had 46,800 horse, 38,000 foot, and 70 pieces of cannon. From October 28th to January 6th, 1761, continual skirmishes took place; but the Abdáli steadily refused a general engagement. The improvident Mahrattas were without provisions or money, and were in fact closely besieged.

§ 43. Shujá-ud-daulah of Oudh had been endeavouring to effect an accommodation between the invaders and the Mahrattas; but Ahmad Sháh knew his own strength and the distressed condition of the enemy, and was disinclined to come to terms. At length, on the 7th January, 1761, Sivadás Ráo wrote a note to Shujá-ud-dauláh, saying "The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop;" and the whole Mahratta army, prepared to conquer or die, marched out to attack the Afghán camp. From day-break till 2 P.M. the rival cries of "Har, Har, Mádeo" and "dín, dín" resounded. The Afgháns were physically stronger; and in this terrible struggle, their powers of endurance at last prevailed against the fierce enthusiasm of the Mahrattas. By 2 P.M. Viswas Ráo was killed. In despair Sivadása Ráo descended from his elephant, mounted his horse, and charged into the thickest of the

fight. He was seen no more. Holkár left the field early, not without some imputation of treachery. Thousands perished in the fight, and the remainder were surrounded, taken prisoners, and cruelly beheaded the next morning. One of the few who escaped to bear the tidings to the Peshwá, who was still encamped on the banks of the Godávarí was Bálájí Janárdan, who afterwards became so famous under the official title of Náná Farnavís (the lord of the records).

§ 44. The Peshwá never recovered the shock, and died at Púna in June. He was cunning, sensual, and indolent, but charitable and kindly; and his memory is respected by his countrymen. The whole Mahratta race was thus thrown into mourning in 1761 by this disastrous battle, which is known in history as the THIRD BATTLE OF PANIPAT; their hope of supremacy in India had vanished, while every family bewailed its dead.

PART IV.—MAHRATTA HISTORY FROM THE THIRD BATTLE OF PANIPAT TO THE TREATY OF SALBAI. A.D. 1761—1782.

§ 45. Mádu Ráo, Fourth Peshwá. § 46. The Four ablest Mahrattas. § 47. War with Haidar Alí. § 48. Malhár Ráo Holkár succeeded by Ahalyá Bái. § 49. Raghoba in Prison. § 50. Sindia. § 51. Rám Sástri. § 52. Mádu Ráo in the Carnatic, 1770. § 53. The Mahrattas supreme in Delhi. § 54. Mádu Ráo succeeded by Náráyana Ráo as Fifth Peshwá. § 55. Murder of Náráyana Ráo. § 56. Raghoba, nominal Peshwá. § 57. Mádu Ráo Náráyana, Sixth Peshwá. § 58. Raghoba negotiates with the Bombay Government. § 59. The treaty of Súrat, 1775. § 60. Raghoba helped by the English at Bombay. § 61. The Calcutta Government at first hostile to Raghoba. § 62. Troops sent to Raghoba from Calcutta. § 63. Colonel Goddard's March. § 64. Bombay Disasters. § 65. The Convention of Wargám. § 66. Disallowed by the Bombay Government. § 67. Operations of Goddard, Hartley, and Popham. § 68. Combination against the English. § 69. The treaty of Salbái.

§ 45. The fourth Peshwá was Mádu Ráo, the second son of Báláji Ráo, and the younger brother of the unfortunate Viswas Ráo

Mádu Ráo succeeded at the age of 17; and died in 1772, at the early age of 28. He was the most heroic of the line. His uncle Raghunátha Rao (Raghoba) was his guardian.

This was the time for the Mughuls to avenge their defeat at Udgir, and regain their ascendancy in the Deccan: but they only succeeded in obtaining some cessions in Aurangábád and Barár. Dissensions prevailed during this period among the Mahratta leaders; and Raghoba had to wage a civil war before he could gain his full authority as regent. He had also to fight with Nizám Alí, who was stirred up by Janoji Bhonslé of Barár, who hoped to make himself supreme in the Mahratta confederacy. Raghoba behaved with much courage and prudence; and though Púna was once sacked by Nizám Alí, at length defeated the Mughuls and made an advantageous peace.

§ 46. At this time, and for many years after, Sakarám Bápu and Náná Farnavís (a young man, just rising into importance) were the ablest Mahratta statesmen; while Trimbak Ráo Máma and Hari Pant were the greatest soldiers in the service of the Púna Government.

§ 47. There was now rising in the Carnatic an enemy to the Mahrattas who, imitating Sivaji, was laying the foundations of a kingdom. This was Haidar Alí of Mysor [*see* Chap. VII., §§ 76—83]. To oppose Haidar, in 1764, the young Peshwá led an army across the Krishna. The issue of the campaign was favourable to the Mahrattas; and Haidar was compelled to abandon all he had taken from the chiefs of that nation, and to pay thirty-two lakhs of rupees.

§ 48. In 1766, Malhár Ráo Holkár died. For forty-two years he had been one of the bravest spirits among the Mahrattas. He had only one son, who died in 1755; and his grandson died soon after his grandfather. The widow of the former, whose name was Ahalyá Báí, succeeded to the supreme authority in Indor, and held it till her death in 1795. She was one of the most extraordinary women that ever lived. She adopted, by consent of the Peshwá, an experienced soldier called *Tukaji Holkár*, who was no relation to the family. He assumed command of the army, and one of his descendants still rules in Indor. Tukaji always paid to Ahalyá

Báí filial reverence. She ruled, while he was Commander-in-Chief.

She was devout, merciful, and laborious to an extraordinary degree; and raised Indor from a village to a wealthy city. She was well educated, and possessed of a remarkably acute mind. She became a widow when she was twenty years old, and her son died a raving maniac soon after. These things coloured her whole existence. In one thing she far excelled even the renowned English Queen Elizabeth: she was insensible to flattery. While living, she was "one of the purest and most exemplary rulers that ever lived," and she is now worshipped in Málwah as an incarnation of the deity.

§ 49. The Barár Rájá was ever ready to intrigue or fight against the Púna Government; the Peshwá succeeded however at length in bringing him to complete submission. Raghoba himself was taken prisoner and confined in Púna, till released by Madu Ráo just before his death (1772).

§ 50. The affairs of the great Málwah, or Sindia, branch of the Mahrattas, demand attention. Ránoji was the founder of the family. His son Jayapa succeeded him and was assassinated in 1759. His son Jankoji, the third of the line, was captured at the battle of Pánipat; and his captor, though he at first spared him, secretly put him to death the next day to avoid the anger of Ahmad Sháh. An illegitimate son of Ranoji, by name Mahádaji became, in 1761, the head of the family. He had been wounded at the battle of Pánipat, and was lame ever after. We shall find him the chief rival of Náná Farnavis, and virtually independent after the treaty of Salbái. Till his death in 1794, he was the most prominent Mahratta leader.

§ 51. Mahratta history is ennobled by the character of Rám Sastri, who was Mádu's tutor and spiritual guide. Profoundly learned, a pattern of integrity and of prudence he reproved princes, awed the most dissolute, shewed a bright example of industry, zeal and benevolence, and his memory is still revered by the Mahrattas.

§ 52. The last great effort of Mádu's life was his expedition into the Carnatic, to enforce the payment of the tribute, which Haidar, relying on his treaty with the English, had dared to with-

hold. After a terrible defeat, the Mysor army was shut up in Seringapatam. The siege was unsuccessful; but a peace, by which Haidar virtually yielded all demands, was made in April 1772.

§ 53. In 1769, the Mahrattas crossed the Chambal; being the first time that they had ventured to show themselves in Hindústán in any force, since their terrible disaster in 1761. They levied tribute from the Rájpút States and overran the districts occupied by the Játs; and in the neighbourhood of Bhartpur dictated an agreement, by which sixty-five lakhs of rupees were to be paid as tribute by the latter people. Nor did they pause till Sháh Alam II., the nominal Emperor of Dehli, was in their power, and they were in fact masters of the Empire.

§ 54. Mádu Ráo, who had long been sick, died on 18th November, 1772, in his 28th year. His early death was as great a calamity to the Mahrattas as the defeat at Pánipat. He was brave, prudent, bent on promoting the welfare of his people, firm in maintaining his authority, and with many difficulties to encounter a successful ruler. At the period of his death, the Mahratta revenue may be calculated at seven millions of pounds sterling.

§ 55. On the death of the Peshwá, his younger brother Náráyana Ráo succeeded him, in his 18th year. His uncle Raghoba was his guardian. Sakarám Bápu was prime minister, and Náná Farnavís one of the high officers of state. In August 1773, Náráyana Ráo was murdered. A conspiracy, which Raghoba favoured, had been formed to seize the young Peshwá; but the murder seems to have been planned by Ananda Báí, the wicked wife of Raghoba. When the assassins attacked the poor youth, he ran to his uncle's apartments and begged him to defend him. This Raghoba tried to do; but in vain.

§ 56. RAGHOBA now assumed the dignity of Peshwá. Meanwhile in Hindústán, the Emperor Sháh Alam II, incited by Nazib-ud-daulah, strove to free himself from the Mahratta yoke; but was defeated in a battle at Delhi, December, 1772. This made the Mahrattas more than ever masters of the emperor.

§ 57. A revolution was now pending at Púna. A strong confederacy was formed against Raghoba, of which Sakarám Bápu, Náná Farnavís and Hari Pant, were the heads. A battle was

fought, in which Raghoba was victorious, and Trimbak Máma was killed; but his cause was ruined by the birth, in April 1774, of Náráyana Ráo's posthumous son, Mádu Ráo Náráyana, whom, rejecting Raghoba's claims, we may call the sixth Peshwa.

§ 58. Raghoba advanced to the banks of the Táptí, where he hoped to be joined by Sindia and Holkár. There he entered into a negotiation with the Bombay Government, under Mr. Hornby; promising to cede to the English *Salsette, the smaller islands near Bombay, and Bassein, with its dependencies*, as the price of their assistance. While these negotiations were pending, Raghoba's son, Báji Ráo Raghunáth, was born, 1774. He in due time became the seventh and last of the Peshwás.

§ 59. The long pending treaty between the Bombay Government and Raghoba was signed, March 6th, 1775, at SURAT. It led to the FIRST MAHRATTA WAR.

§ 60. The Bombay Government now sent Lieutenant-Colonel Keating and a force of 1,500 men to Súrat, to conduct Raghoba to Púna, and instal him as Peshwá. By this time nearly all the Mahratta chiefs were in arms against Raghoba, and his English allies Keating, after some fruitless negotiations marched from the neighbourhood of Kambáy towards the bank of the Máí; and reached the plain of Arás, where he gained a complete, but dearly bought victory. An engagement took place also by sea, and Commodore Moor was there successful. All things seemed favourable to Raghoba, who made some valuable cessions of territory to the Bombay Government. Yet Raghoba was unpopular with the whole Mahratta people, by whom his real character was duly estimated.

§ 61. The Supreme Government, with Warren Hastings at its head, assumed the administration of all the Company's affairs in India, according to the provisions of the Regulating Act, on 20th October 1774 [*see* Chap. VIII., § 1]. They pronounced the treaty with Raghoba to be "impolitic, dangerous, unauthorized and unjust;" and sent Colonel Upton to Púna, and concluded the treaty of PURANDHAR (near Púna) with Sakarám Bápu and Náná Farnavís, on 1st March 1776. The cause of Raghoba was to be abandoned; but Salsette retained. Mr. Hornby, then at the head of the Bombay Government, believed Raghoba to be innocent, and Mádu

Ráo Náráyana to be a suppositious child. The Bombay Government still clung to Raghoba's cause, and received him with 200 followers into Súrat, where he appealed to the Directors and to King George III. The Court of Directors approved of the treaty of Súrat; and at last, the intrigues of the Púna Government with the French compelled the Supreme Government to coincide with Bombay in espousing the cause of Raghoba, 1777.

§ 62. It was time for some decisive action on the part of the English. An adventurer called St. Lubin, had induced the French Government to send him to Púna to ascertain what might be gained by an alliance with the Mahrattás. Náná Farnavís encouraged him; and the Supreme Government now united with the Bombay authorities in the resolution to bring Raghoba back to Púna. Troops were despatched by land from Calcutta, under Colonel Leslie, who delayed on his march, was recalled, and died in October 1778.

§ 63. Colonel Goddard then assumed command, and reached Súrat on 6th February 1779. His route lay through Multán, Khemlassa, Bhilsa, Bhopal, Hoshangábád, Burhánpur, to Súrat. He was treated by the Nawáb of Bhopál, with a kindness which laid the foundation of the friendship which has ever since subsisted between that State and the British. This wonderful march was projected by Hastings, and filled India with astonishment.

§ 64. Meanwhile, shame and disaster had befallen the Bombay army. After many discussions and much intrigue, it was resolved at Bombay to send a force direct to Púna to replace Raghoba there as regent. This army left Bombay, November 22, 1778, landed at Punála, ascended the Gháts to Khandála, December 23, and on the 9th January, 1779, reached Talegáon.

The expedition was under the command of Colonel Egerton, with whom were associated Messrs. Mostyn and Carnac. Mr. Mostyn (an able man, often employed in Mahratta affairs,) died at the very outset. At Talegáon, the two gentlemen who were responsible, came to the determination to retreat. Two thousand six hundred British troops were led back by their weak, sickly, and inexperienced commander, and his civilian colleague. C course, their retreat was known at once. The army was pursue

and though Captain Hartley especially distinguished himself, it was considered impossible to retreat further than *Wargám*, and negotiations were commenced with Náná Farnavís. There were two Mahratta authorities with whom Mr. Carnac could negotiate —Náná Farnavís and Mahádaji Sindia who were rivals, though both essential to the conduct of Mahratta affairs at the time.

§ 65. With Sindia, to whom Raghoba had given himself up, the convention was at last concluded: Hartley protesting. Everything was to be restored to the position in which it was in 1773; an order was to be sent, forbidding the advance of the Bengal troops; and Bharoch *(Broach)* was to be made over to Sindia with other concessions. Two hostages, Mr. Farmer and Lieut. Stewart, were given. Such was the disgraceful CONVENTION OF WARGAM, January 1779.

§ 66. The Bombay Government, and the Court of Directors, at once disallowed the convention, as beyond the powers of those who had concluded it; and dismissed Colonel Egerton and Mr. Carnac from the service. Hartley was deservedly applauded and made Lieut.-Colonel.

§ 67. Meanwhile Goddard had reached Súrat, with instructions to negotiate a peace with Púna, on the basis of the treaty of Púrandhar, with a provision for the exclusion of the French. Raghoba had now joined him as a fugitive, Náná Farnavís demanded, as preliminary concessions, the surrender of Raghoba and of Salsette. As this was out of the question, active hostilities were commenced January 1, 1780. The forts of Dubhai and Ahmadábád were taken by storm. Sindia and Holkár now joined their forces to oppose Goddard, who drove them off; but could then do no more. Hartley defended the Concan, where Kalián was taken. Captain William Popham, aided by Captain Bruce, was sent from Bengal to attack Málwah and effect a diversion. Láhor and afterwards Gwáliár were taken in the most heroic style, by escalade.

§ 68. Now came Haidar's memorable invasion of the Carnatic, July 1780. As all the resources of Bengal were required to meet this terrible attack, Bombay was left to itself. "We have no resource," said Governor Hornby, "but such as we may find in

our own efforts." The English were engaged in two great wars. The strength of India, east and west, was arrayed against them. The Nizám, the Mahrattas, and Haidar formed a triple alliance. Hartley kept the Concan with admirable skill and bravery; while Goddard took BASSEIN. Goddard was compelled to retreat by the combined forces of the Mahrattas, and no great advantages were afterwards gained.

§ 69. The terms of a peace were arranged in January 1782; but it was not concluded till the last day of that year. It is called the treaty of SALBAI. Mahádaji Sindia was the Peshwá's plenipotentiary. Its chief provisions were that Raghoba should have 25,000 rupees a month, and live where he chose; that all territory should remain as before the treaty of Púrandhar; all Europeans, except the Portuguese, should be excluded from the Mahratta dominions; that Haidar (who died while the treaty was being negotiated) should be compelled to relinquish his conquests from the English, and from the Nawáb of Arcot in the Carnatic; and that Bharoch should be given to Sindia, for his humanity to the English, after the convention of Wargám.

PART V.—FROM THE END OF THE FIRST MAHRATTA WAR TO THE TREATY OF BASSEIN. A.D. 1782—1802.

§ 70. Sindia at Delhi. § 71. The Mahrattas and Tippú. § 72. Progress of Mahádaji Sindia. § 73. Ghulám Kádir. § 74. Sindia's Power. § 75. He defeats Holkár. § 76. His Death. § 77. Disunion among the Mahrattas. § 78. War with Nizám Alí. § 79. Battle of Kurdlá, 1795. § 80. Suicide of the Peshwá. § 81. Accession of Bájí Ráo II., the last Peshwá. § 82. Imprisonment and release of Náná Farnavís, § 83. Jeswant Ráo Holkár. § 84. Death of Náná Farnavís. § 85. War between Sindia and Holkár. § 86. Establishment of British influence. § 87. The Treaty of Bassein.

§ 70. The effect of the treaty of Salbái was to favour greatly Sindia's desire to form an independent Mahratta dominion. About this time he took possession of Gwáliár from the Ráná of Gohad, who had forfeited his claim to British protection. He then turned his attention to Delhi, where he obtained supreme authority; and was made by Sháh Alam II., Commander-in-Chief of the forces an

manager of the provinces of Delhi and Agra. In 1785, he was so elated by his position at Delhi, as to make a claim on the British Government for *Chauth* for their Bengal provinces. Mr. Macpherson compelled him to disavow this claim.

§ 71. From 1784 to 1787 the Mahrattas, in alliance with Nizám Alí, were at war with Tippú. Náná Farnavís made great attempts to induce the English to join them, but in vain. The treaty of Salbái had bound the English and Mahrattas not to assist each other's enemies; but the English were not prepared to assist in an offensive war against Tippú, to whom they were bound by the unfortunate treaty of Mangalor. Nothing remarkable was effected during the war; at the conclusion of which Tippú engaged to pay 45 lakhs of rupees as tribute to the Mahrattas.

§ 72. From 1789 to 1798 the chief interest connected with Mahratta history is centred in Mahádaji Sindia, who was vigorously prosecuting his schemes in Hindústán. He was engaged in severe struggles with Prataab Singh, the Rájá of Jaipur, as well as with the Rájá of Jodhpur, and with many of the lesser Muhammadan Jágírdárs, from whom he tried to extort tribute. A part of his troops were under the command of a Frenchman, General De Boigne.

§ 73. Ghulám Kádir, son of the Rohilla chieftain Zábítah Khán now appeared on the scene. He was the hereditary enemy of Sindia. This infamous person, in the course of the struggle, occupied Delhi, and was guilty of unparralleled atrocities there. The wretched emperor, Sháh Alam II., was deprived of his eyes, and every member of his family exposed to deadly insult [*see* Chap. III., § 158]. Sindia soon recovered Delhi and reinstated the fallen monarch. Ghulám Kádir was taken and put to a horrible death. Bídar Bakht, whom he had made emperor, was also slain.

§ 74. Sindia was now fully bent on making himself an independent sovereign. He continued supreme at the Mughul Court. In 1790 he procured from Sháh Alam II., for the third time, the title of Vakil-i-Mutlaq or chief minister, for the Peshwá. Sindia and his heirs were to be perpetual deputies of the Peshwá in this office, which was now made hereditary. To convey the patents

and insignia of the office to the Peshwá, Sindia now marched to Púna. His arrival filled Náná Farnavís with apprehension. The ceremony of investing the Peshwá with the insignia of office was most splendid. Sindia's one object was to make himself supreme at Púna; but he affected extreme humility, carried a pair of slippers as a memento of his hereditary office, and would receive no title but that of P atel, or village headman.

§ 75. Meanwhile in Hindústán the jealousy between Holkár and Sindia led to a battle between the former and Sindia's generals De Boigne, Perron, Gopál Ráo and Lakwá Dádá. This bloody battle was fought at Lakairi near Ajmír. Holkár's army was utterly routed, and retreated to Málwah.

§ 76. Sindia, thus powerful everywhere, would probably have succeeded in overthrowing the Bráhman influence altogether, had he not died suddenly, at Wanáoli near Púna, 12th February 1794. His career was most eventful. The chief Mahratta leader for 35 years, he mediated between the Peshwá and the English, and at the same time ruled the puppet Emperor with a rod of iron. He was succeeded by his grand-nephew Daulat Ráo Sindía, then in his 15th year.

§ 77. Náná Farnavís was now the only Mahratta statesman. The Mahratta confederacy still maintained the nominal supremacy of the Peshwá; but the people were losing their adventurous spirit, and each chieftain was gradually becoming independent of any central authority.

§ 78. The disputes between Nizám Alí and the Náná regarding arrears of tribute, grew more and more complicated. Sir John Shore would not interfere. War was begun in December 1794. Under the Peshwá's banner, *for the last time*, came all the great Mahratta chiefs.

§ 79. At Kúrdlá (March 1795), a victory was obtained by the Mahrattas, more the result of a panic among the Mughuls than of Mahratta bravery. But Nizám Alí was obliged to retreat. An obnoxious minister, Maasir-ul-mulk, who had resisted the Mahratta claims, was surrendered. Raymond, a Frenchman, was in command of the Haidarábád troops; while Perron was with Sindia's contingent. When the Haidarábád minister was surre

dered, the young Peshwá was seen to look sad; and when asked the cause by the Náná, he replied, "I grieve to see such a degeneracy as there must be, on both sides, when the Mughuls can so disgracefully submit to, and our troops can vaunt so much, a victory obtained without an effort." The young Peshwá was just twenty-one years of age.

§ 80. The Náná was now in the zenith of his power and influence; but he lost his popularity by his treatment of Raghoba's sons, whom he imprisoned in Sáoner. Báji Ráo was the eldest, and was most accomplished, winning in his manners, and a general favourite. The Náná forcibly prevented all intercourse between the young Peshwá and his cousin, and this so irritated the young prince, that he threw himself from a terrace of his palace, and died in two days (1795).

§ 81. After endless intrigues, Sindia and the Náná united in the elevation of Báji Ráo; and in December 1796, he was placed on the *masnad*, with Náná Farnavís once more prime minister. Báji Ráo II., though of most prepossessing manners and appearance, was a worthless man, fitted to bring ruin, as he did, on the State which had the misfortune to receive him for its ruler. His first endeavour was to rid himself of Daulat Ráo Sindia and of the Nána.

§ 82. The former was continually in Púna, where he overruled the young Peshwá, who determined to send him back to Hindústán. But first the ruin of the Náná must be effected. It was determined, with the aid of Sindia, to seize him. Púna for a day and a night was a scene of bloodshed and confusion. The Náná was sent a prisoner to Ahmadnagar. An infamous wretch, named Shirzi Ráo Ghatgay, father-in-law of Sindia, was made minister; and was allowed to plunder, torture, and kill the inhabitants of Púna at his pleasure. Sindia wished to return to Hindústán; but could not find funds to pay his troops, and several battles, resulting from domestic quarrels, took place. The Náná was liberated at the earnest request of Báji Ráo; who even paid him a midnight visit in disguise, threw himself before the old minister, and swore that he had never consented to his seizure. The Náná again became minister.

§ 83. Tukaji Holkár died in 1795 He left four sons. The eldest was imbecile. The second was Malhár Ráo, who was killed this year in a fray at Púna; and the third, who was illegitimate, was called Jeswant Ráo. He eventually succeeded to the government. Meanwhile he became a great freebooter, and a formidable rival to Sindia. The century closed with universal confusion in Mahratta affairs. Civil war, in which the Rájá of Sátára, the Kolhápur chief, Sindia, and the Peshwá's own officers were engaged, raged through the whole country.

§ 84. The death of Náná Farnavís, which happened in March 1800, sealed the ruin of the Peshwá's government. He was an astute statesman, personally timid; on the whole, a patriot. He firmly opposed the introduction of the Subsidiary System [*see* Chap. VIII., § 61] into Púna; respected and admired the English; but politically regarded them ever with fear and aversion.

§ 85. In the end of 1800, Sindia returned to Málwah, where several bloody battles were fought between him and Jeswant Ráo Holkár. The infamous Ghatgay joined his son-in-law, Sindia's army, and under his command the troops gained a complete victory over Holkár; and the result was the pillage of Indor, in revenge for that of Ujjain. Jeswant Ráo was now nearly ruined. Sindia's and the Peshwá's troops gained several great advantages over him: but he, by a skilful march, arrived unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of Púna, and there gained a decisive victory, October 25, 1801. This battle had the most momentous results, The Peshwá fled; and offered to Colonel Barry Close, the British Resident, an engagement to subsidise six battalions of sepoys, and to pay 25 lakhs of rupees annually for their support. He eventually passed over to Bassein, and put himself under British protection.

§ 86. The entanglement of affairs was very strange. The real Rájá of the Mahrattas was in Sátára, a mere puppet chief minister and the real sovereign (Báji Ráo, II.,) the Peshwá, was driven from his capital by his feudatory with whom Sindia was at war. The British had to n

The Mahratta confederation was at an end. Meanwhile at Baroda (now the capital of the Gaikwár), on the death of Govind Ráo, the disputes about the succession compelled the English to interfere. They took the part of Ráoji Appají as minister of the young Gaikwár, Anand Ráo, who was of weak intellect. Baroda was taken, a subsidiary force received, and the State came under the subsidiary system, January 1803. Súrat was finally taken possession of by Governor Duncan in 1799.

§ 87. Holkár soon began to plunder Púna, and set up a new Peshwá, son of Amrita Ráo. This hastened the signing of the treaty of BASSEIN, 31st December 1802. This celebrated treaty disunited for ever the Mahrattas, and gave the English complete authority over them. By it the Peshwá engaged, (1) to receive a subsidiary force, and to pay twenty-six lakhs for its maintenance annually; (2) to receive no European, of any hostile nation, into his dominions; (3) to give up all claims to Súrat, and to leave his disputes with the Nizám and the Gaikwár to British mediation; (4) to remain the faithful ally of England. Full protection to him and to his territories was guaranteed by the British. Thus did Báji Ráo sacrifice his independence, and that of the race and people; but the blame must rest on the shoulders of the ambitious chieftains whose dissensions for ever ruined the Mahrattá interest.

PART VI.—THE SECOND AND THIRD MAHRATTÁ WARS.

A. D. 1802—1805.

§ 88. Preparations for War. § 89. The Peshwá reinstated. § 90. The British and Mahratta Forces. § 91. The Capture of Ahmadnagar. § 92. The Battle of Assai. § 93. Progress of the Campaign under Lake and Stevenson. § 94. Battle of Láswári and Triumph of Lake. § 95. British Victories in other Parts. § 96. Treaty of Deogáon with Nágpur. § 97. Treaty with Sindia. § 98. Third Mahratta War with Holkár. § 99. Summary of its Events. § 100. First Siege of Bhartpur. § 101. New Treaties with Sindia and Holkár.

§ 88. Daulat Ráo Sindia and Raghuji Bhonslé were both opposed to the treaty of Bassein, and prepared for war. Lord Wellesley had to reinstate the Peshwá in Púna. Jeswant Ráo Holkár was in

possession of Púna, Sindia at Burhánpur with an army. Raghuji was preparing for war. Two armies were now marched, by the command of the Governor-General. One under Major-General Arthur Wellesley, assembled on the northern frontier of Mysor; and the other, consisting of the Haidarábád subsidiary force was encamped at Purinda, on the eastern border of the Peshwá's territory. General Wellesley reached Púna by forced marches on 20th April (1803).

§ 89. The Peshwá was reinstated in May. Holkár retreated to Málwah, and Stevenson advanced to the Godávarí to protect the country. The two chieftains, Daulat Ráo Sindia and Raghuji Bhonslé, still pretended to be well inclined to the British; but demurred to the treaty of Bassein. General Wellesley, to whom the whole authority, political as well as military, had been entrusted, required that Sindia should withdraw to Málwah, and Raghuji Bhonslé to Barár, when he would remove the British troops. This they refused to do, and the SECOND MAHRATTA WAR began.

§ 90. Lord Wellesley was determined to attack the confederates at every point. The British troops were stationed in the following places: (1) General Wellesley had 8,930 men, and was encamped near Ahmadnagar; (2) Stevenson had 7,920 men, on the banks of the Godávarí; (3) General Stewart, with a covering army, was stationed between the Krishna and Tumbadra; (4) in Gujarát there were 7,352 men, under General Murray, holding the various forts, of whom 5,000 were ready for field service; (5) in Hindústán, General Lake had 10,500 men; (6) at Allahabad, 3,500 men were ready to act on Bundelkhand; (7) 5,216 men were prepared to march on Katak (Cuttack), the extreme eastern point of Raghuji Bhonslé's dominions. A glance at the map will show how completely the Mahratta powers were within the meshes of a mighty net.

To oppose these were Daulat Ráo Sindia's troops and those of Raghuji Bhonslé, consisting of 50,000 horse, 30,000 infantry, commanded by Europeans, numerous and well served artillery, and a great multitude of irregular troops. Sindia's troops in Hindústán were under M. Perron, the Frenchman. Jeswant Ráo Holkár remained in Málwah plundering, and striving to maintain neutrality.

§ 91. The first great blow was the capture of *Ahmadnagar*, August 12, 1803. Colonel Stevenson took Jálna, September 9.

§ 92. The second great blow was the victory of ASSAI. The whole Mahratta army was now encamped near the village of Bokerdun. On 23rd September, Wellesley learned that the confederates were encamped on the Kaitna, near its confluence with the Juah, both being tributaries of the Purna, which is a main affluent of the Godávarí. In the fork of the two first rivers is the fortified village of ASSAI. On the advance of the British troops, the Mahrattas began a terrible cannonade. The 74th Regiment, the 19th Light Dragoons, and the fourth Native Infantry nobly contested the field. The dragoons only numbered 300; but they bravely charged the whole Mahratta force. The enemy's line gave way, were forced into the Juah at the point of the bayonet, by the advancing line of British infantry, and the battle was won, but one-third of the British troops lay dead upon the field. Daulat Ráo Sindia and Raghuji Bhonslé fled from the field early in the day.

§ 93. The next undertakings were the reduction of the city of Burhánpur, and of the fort of Asirgarh. These were accomplished (October 21) by Colonel Stevenson. In Gujarát the city of Bharoch, the fort of Pawangarh, and the town of Champánír were taken (September 17). Meanwhile, in Hindústán, General Lake, with the same powers that Wellesley possessed in the Deccan, marched from Cawnpur against Sindía's army under Perron and took Coel and the fort of Alígarh (August 29). At this time Perron and his staff retired from Sindia's service. M. Louis Bourquin succeeded Perron. He met the English under the walls of Delhi, and was defeated in a battle, skilfully fought by Lake (September 11). Delhi surrendered; the person and family of Sháh Alam II. came into Lord Lake's power [*see* Chap. III., § 159]. Bourquin and the other French officers surrendered. Agra was besieged and taken (October 18).

§ 94. Lake now set out in pursuit of another wing of Sindia's army, which retired before him to the hills of Mewát. He overtook it (November 1), near LASWARI, and a most severely contested battle was fought. The veterans trained by DeBoigne

died heroically in the field. The victory was complete; and it laid all Sindia's dominion in Hindústán, from Delhi and Agra to the Chambal, at Lake's feet.

§ 95. Katak and Bundelkhand were rapidly conquered by Harcourt and Powell. In the Deccan negotiations for peace were entered into by the Mahratta chiefs, but in a vacillating and deceitful manner. Wellesley now attacked the confederates at Argáon, and gained a complete victory.

§ 96. On 17th December, Raghuji Bhonslé, utterly discomfited, signed a treaty, by which he ceded Katak (Cuttack) and Balasore; gave up all his territory west of the Warda and south of the range of hills on which Gáwilgarh stands; agreed to submit to British arbitration all disputes between himself, the Nizám and the Peshwá, and engaged to admit no foreigners, hostile to Great Britain, into his service. This is called the TREATY OF DEOGAON.

§ 97. Very reluctantly, on 30th December 1803, did Daulat Ráo Sindia sign a treaty, by which he ceded to the English all his territory between the Jamnah and the Ganges; all north of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Gohad; the forts of Ahmednagar and Bharoch and their districts; all between the Adjunta Ghát and the Godávarí. This is called the TREATY OF SIRJI ANJENGAON. Thus ended the *Second Mahratta War*. It really lasted about four months. Skilful combination, vigour, and bravery mark every operation.

§ 98. The British had now (1804) three armies in the field,—one at Jáfarábád, one at Púna, and one under Lord Lake, in Hindústán. The two former were preserving peace in the newly assigned districts, and the last was watching Jeswant Ráo Holkár. This chieftain, after many negotiations, proceeded to plunder Ajmír, and to threaten the Rájpúts under British protection. He demanded also cessions of territory, and it became evident that war with him was inevitable. This began in April 1804, and lasted till December 1805. It may be called the Third Mathratta War.

§ 99. The fort of Tank Rámpura was stormed, May 16. Colonel Monson was driven from the Mokhundra Pass to Delhi, losing his guns and baggage, and many of his troops, July 8—August 31. Holkár attacked Delhi, but was repulsed by Colonel

Ochterlony, the resident, October 8—14. General Frazer and Colonel Monson gained a complete victory at DIG, in which General Frazer fell, November 13. Colonel Monson took 87 guns, among which were fourteen that he had lost. General Lake fell upon Holkár's troops at Farkhábád and cut them up, November 17. Lake besieged Díg, which was stormed, December 23. Thus all Holkár's forts, Chándúr, Galna, and his capital, Indor, had been captured. Díg and Bhartpur belonged to the Játs Rájá, who had behaved treacherously to his allies the British.

§ 100. Bhartpur was now besieged, January 2, 1805. It is a fortified town, six or eight miles in circumference, surrounded by a very lofty mud wall, and regarded as impregnable by the Hindús. The Rájá was resolute in his defence, and Lord Lake was not prepared for such a siege. Four assaults failed. Meanwhile Holkár and his friends were surprised and cut up on every side, by General Lake and his active officers. On the 16th April, the Rájá came to terms, and though the city had not been taken, paid 20 lakhs of rupees, and renounced Holkár's alliance. This was a gain; but the ill success of the siege left a bad impression, which was not removed till Lord Combermere took the fortress in 1825.

§ 101. Daulat Ráo Sindia now broke faith, seized Mr. Jenkins, the Assistant Resident, and with his father-in-law, the infamous Ghatgay, and Ambaji Inglia, espoused, though not quite openly, Holkár's cause. Now came the appointment of Lord Cornwallis, July 30, 1805, whose mission was to restore peace at any sacrifice [*see* Chap. VIII., § 75]. Lord Lake conducted the negotiations. A new treaty was made with Sindia, on the basis of that of Sirji Anjengaon. Gwáliár was taken from the Ráná of Gohad, who was unfit for government. Jeswant Ráo Holkár was driven by Lord Lake into the Panjáb, where he obtained no assistance from the Síkhs. He sued for peace; and fortunately for him Sir George Barlow's policy permitted him to obtain it on ludicrously easy terms (November 1805).

PART VII.—EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO 1805.

§ 102. Causes of the downfall of the Mahratta. § 103. Death of Jeswant Ráo Holkár. § 104. Rise of Amír Khán. § 105. Affairs in Púna. § 106. Trimbakji Dainglia. § 107. The Pindáris. § 108. Appá Saheb. § 109. Preparations for the Pindári War. § 110. Submission of Sindia and Amír Khán. § 111. The Attack on the Púna Residency. § 112. The flight of Báji Ráo. § 113. The Defence of Koregám. § 114. Deposition of Báji Ráo, the last Peshwá. § 115. Appá Saheb at Nágpur. § 116. The Attack on the Nágpur Residency. § 117. Fall of Appá Saheb (1817), and Annexation of Nágpur (1853). § 118. Progress of the Pindári War. § 119. Battle of Mahidpur, and Treaty of Mandeswar. § 120. End of the Pindári leaders. § 121. Settlement of the Mahratta Country.

§ 102. The causes of the downfall of the Mahrattas were many. *First*, excessive aggrandisement of Mahádaji Sindia, making him independent of the Peshwá; and, in fact, a rival to him. *Secondly* the dissensions consequent on the death of Náráyana Ráo, the quarrels and rivalries of Raghoba, Náná Farnavís, Báji Ráo II., Jeswant Ráo Holkár, and Daulat Ráo Sindia, completely disintegrated the confederation. *Thirdly*, the confederation had within itself elements of disunion, and consequent weakness. The Peshwá and his councillors were Bráhmans; Sindia, Holkár, and Raghuji Bhonslé were of lower castes. *Fourthly*, Sháh Alam II. was now in the power of the British. Under the shadow of the new paramount power, the corruption and disorder which favoured the rise of the Mahrattas cannot exist.

§ 103. Jeswant Ráo Holkár, after committing many atrocities, went mad in 1808, and died so in 1811. His State was now in a condition of extreme disorder. It was administered by Tulsí Baí, a concubine of Jeswant Ráo Holkár, in the name of Malhár Ráo Holkár, an illegitimate son of that chief. In 1810, Daulat Ráo Sindia made Gwáliár his head-quarters.

§ 104. The name of *Amír Khán* appears frequently in the history of this period. He was an Afghán adventurer, who aided Jeswant Ráo Holkár in his early struggles (1800), became his greatest general, took the control of affairs during his insanity, and was bent on establishing himself in Rajpútána (1809).

§ 105. In Púna from 1803 to 1810, Colonel Sir Barry Close was Resident. Báji Ráo was full of hatred to the English, while

sensible of the strength which their troops gave him. He professed the utmost cordiality; but intrigued with Sindia. His great delight was to humble and oppress the families that had been opposed to his party. In 1811, the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had been on General Wellesley's staff in 1803, and who had just returned from his celebrated mission to Kábul, was appointed Resident. He knew the people and the work, and had much direct personal intercourse with the natives.

§ 106. We are now introduced (1813) to the man whose connexion consummated the ruin of the Mahrattas. *Trimbakji Dainglia* was a spy; and had risen, by every infamous compliance, to the position of chief favourite of Báji Ráo II. This man laboured with success to impress his master with the idea that he could restore the Mahratta power to the state in which it was under the first great Peshwás. His cruelty and violence in the exercise of the office of prime minister, which he soon obtained, were unbounded, Báji Ráo was induced to open communications with Sindia, Holkár and Raghuji Bhonslé; and his design was to restore the Mahratta confederacy. The province of Gujarát was now much under British influence. The Resident was Colonel Walker, and his measures delivered it from anarchy. There were disputes between Báji Ráo and the Gaikwár's government, regarding debts due to the Púna court; and Gangadhar Sástri was sent to discuss the matter. The Sástri, a Bráhman, was assassinated by Trimbakji's agents, with Báji Ráo's concurrence, at the sacred shrine of Pandharpur. This outrage filled every mind with horror. Mr. Elphinstone required the punishment of the assassin; and Trimbakji was confined in the fort of Thána, on the island of Salsette. From thence he escaped, through the contrivance of a Mahratta horse-keeper; who, while cleaning his master's horse outside the fort, sang the whole plan of escape to the prisoner within.

Trimbakji was now supplied secretly with money by the Peswá, and proceeded to raise troops and organise an insurrection to drive the British from the country. Mr. Elphinstone, with the utmost forbearance, prudence and firmness, tried to bring Báji Ráo to a better mind, and to retrace his steps. It was, however, necessary at last to assume a most decided tone. A new treaty was prepared,

and Bájí was compelled to sign it (1817), circumscribing his power. Ahmadnagar was ceded to the English. Trimbakji was to be given up; but he managed to elude his pursuers.

§ 107. The Marquis of Hastings had succeeded as Governor-General (October 1813;) and it became evident that Amír Khán [§ 104] and the Pindáris must be put down. The *Pindáris* were a collection of the lowest freebooters, the very refuse of all the lawless, predatory hordes that infested the Deccan. They had followed, like jackals, the armies of the early Mahratta chieftains, by whom assignments of land had been made to them on the banks of the Narbaddah.

Their first conspicuous leader was *Kharim Khán*, who had been imprisoned by Sindia in Gwáliár, and was not released till 1810. Another was *Chitu*, who was kept in confinement by Amír Khán till 1816. Armed with Mahratta spears, every 15th man having a matchlock, and about two-fifths well armed and mounted, they sallied forth, plundering, burning villages, torturing the people, committing every imaginable excess. When the Mahratta chieftains ceased to be engaged in endless wars, these Pindáris lost their occupation, as jackals attending those expeditions. They now plundered on their own account, and gradually increased the field of their operations and the daring of their exploits.

§ 108. The beginning of the war which had broken out in Nepál was unfavourable to the English [*see* Chap. VIII., § 89]. This encouraged the Mahrattas to contemplate the renewal of their confederacy. They encouraged the Pindáris and the Patháns under Amír Khán in their excesses; but the time had not come for any open hostilities. In March 1816, Raghuji Bhonslé of Barár died. Parsaji succeeded in Nágpur; but being idiotic, his cousin Appá Saheb became regent. With him a treaty was made, by which the Nágpur State came fully under the *subsidiary system*. Yet he too was secretly in the conspiracy of which Bájí Ráo II. was the head, against the English supremacy.

§ 109. Lord Hastings, in 1817, resolved to put down finally, not only the Pindáris, but all the predatory powers of Central India. This was required by humanity, not less than by policy. The treaties of 1805 had been virtually annulled, by the intrigu

of Sindia and Holkár, and by their constant violation of them. The Governor-General's plan was to surround the infested districts with troops and thus to hem in and destroy the ravagers and their allies.

§ 110. The Governor-General took up his position with the main army near Gwáliár, where Sindia was compelled to sign a treaty, by which he engaged fully to co-operate with the British in restoring peace and order, by the extermination of all the predatory bands; a measure of which he specially was to reap the fruits. Amír Khán now made an agreement by which his Jágír was guaranteed to him, and he agreed to disband his lawless bands. The family still possess Tank. Many other petty chieftains put themselves fully under British protection. Sir John Malcolm was appointed the agent of the Governor-General with ample political powers in the Deccan. Bájí Ráo deceived Malcolm by his protestations. Mr. Elphinstone was convinced of his treacherous designs.

§ 111. The Peshwá was already maturing his plans for an attack on the Residency. Mr. Elphinstone, aware of his duplicity, would give him no pretext for a rupture, by any open preparations, or by an exhibition of distrust. The Peshwá's troops were gathering round and hemming in the British. Mr. Elphinstone from the terrace of the Residency could hear the din of their preparations; but with quiet dignity he made only such unostentatious arrangements as the merest prudence demanded. He brought the British troops together to Kharkí, four miles from Púna. The Peshwá's prime minister and commander-in-chief was Bápu Gokla. When it was evident that the attack was about to begin, Mr. Elphinstone withdrew to Kharki; and a battle ensued (Nov. 5, 1817) between the Mahratta army, which consisted of 18,000 horse, 8,000 foot with fourteen guns, and Major Ford's troops consisting of 2,800 rank and file, of whom 800 were Europeans. The Mahrattas were easily driven off. The Peshwá plundered the Residency, and murdered several officers who were seized while travelling.

§ 112. General Smith, who was encamped near the Chándúr hills, now marched on Púna. Bájí Ráo fled before him. He occupied the city, and then pursued the Peshwá, who fled to Mahrauli (a sacred place near Sátára, at the confluence of the Yena and Krishna), then to Pandharpur, then to the north of Junar,

where he fortified himself at Bámanwári, and finally to the south. Then the Rájá of Sátára joined the English General.

§ 113. Meanwhile a battalion, consisting of about 500 men belonging to the 1st Regiment, was sent for from Serur by Colonel Barr, who then commanded in Púna. It marched on the 31st December, 1817, attended by 300 irregular horse, all under the command of Captain Francis Staunton. On reaching Koregám (January 1, 1818), they found 25,000 Mahratta horse on the opposite bank of the Bhíma. These, with 5,000 of the Peshwá's infantry, attacked the British troops; who were exhausted by a long night march, were without food or water, and compelled to fight under a blazing sun. The conflict raged all day, and at nightfall the Peshwá's army retreated. The Peshwá himself, from a height two miles distant, beheld the fight. Captain Staunton lost 175 men in killed and wounded; but the Mahrattas lost about 600 men.

This was the most heroic event of the war: the *famous defence of Koregám.*

§ 114. The Peshwá now fled towards the Carnatic. On the bank of the Gutpurba, he found General Thomas Munro, Commissioner of the Ceded Districts (afterwards Governor of Madras), with troops he had raised on the spot, ready to oppose him. He then fled towards Sholapur. On February 10, 1818, Sátára was taken. The next day a proclamation was issued, declaring that Bájí Ráo and his family were excluded from all share in the Government, which was assumed by the Governor-General, reserving a small tract around Sátára for the comfortable and dignified maintenance of the Rájá. Thus fell the house of Báláji Viswanáth, which from 1714 (contemporary with the English House of Brunswick) had in reality swayed the Mahratta sceptre. Bájí Ráo, after wandering about with his army, suffering great privations, and looking vainly for help from the Mahratta chiefs, themselves in great straits, surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, who guaranteed him the princely pension of eight lakhs of rupees per annum. Bithaur, near Cawnpur, was assigned as his residence. There he died in January 1851. Trimbakji managed to evade his pursuers, till he was seized by Lieutenant Swanston, and was retained a prisoner to the period of his death, in the fort of Chanár, in Bengal

§ 115. Appá Saheb (sometimes called Mudaji Bhonslé :—*see* § 108), regent of Nágpur, procured the murder of Parsaji (though this was not then known), and so succeeded him. He determined to abet the Peshwá in his schemes. Mr. Jenkins was then Resident. Appá Saheb did not show his real colours till November 24, 1817. He was not aware then that the Peshwá had made his attack, and failed. Mr. Jenkins had about 1,400 men fit for duty. Appá Saheb's troops were about 18,000.

§ 116. The Residency was at Sítábaldi, a hill to the west of Nágpur. The attack was foiled chiefly by the gallantry of Captain Fitzgerald. It began on the evening of November 26, and was not finally repulsed till about noon the next day.

§ 117. Reinforcements soon arrived. Appá Saheb surrendered. The fort of Nágpur, still held by the Arab mercenaries, was stormed. Appá was reinstated with the most stringent provisions for his fidelity to the British power. He began almost immediately to intrigue again, was arrested by Mr. Jenkins, and sent, by command of the Governor-General, to be imprisoned at Allahábád; but escaped on the road, joined Chitu, the Pindári chief, and after many wanderings took refuge with the Síkhs, with whom he lived and died in utter obscurity. A grandson of the late Raghuji Bhonslé was put on the *masnud*, assuming his grandfather's name. From this time Nágpur may be considered to be under British government; and under Mr. Jenkins, the Resident, it flourished greatly. Raghuji dying in 1853 without issue, his dominions were annexed. Under successive British Commissioners, the whole district has since attained unprecedented prosperity.

§ 118. We must return from these two episodes, recording the fortunes of the last Peshwá and of the Nágpur Raj, to the Pindáris. They were under three leaders, Chitu, Kharim, and Wasil Muhammad. Sir John Malcolm, in concert with the generals of the other divisions, gradually drove them from their haunts, across the Narbaddah. Chitu finally took refuge in Holkár's camp, near Mahidpur. Tulsí Báí, the regent [§ 103], had at length been compelled by the chiefs around her to join the confederacy against the British, and had marched to that place, where a great and decisive battle was fought. Tulsí Báí was put to

death by her troops, because they suspected her of a design to treat with the English.

§ 119. Malhár Ráo Holkár's troops were about 20,000 in number, on the Sipra, a tributary of the Chambal. Sir J. Hislop and Sir John Malcolm crossed the river, attacked the enemy's strong position, carried it, dispersed them, and gained a complete victory, December 21, 1817. At Mandeswar, January 6, 1818, a treaty between the young Malhár Ráo Holkár and the Governor-General was signed. By this treaty he abandoned all authority over the Rájpúts, and placed himself absolutely under British protection, thus securing his territories and his dignity. Daulat Ráo Sindia, overawed by the near approach of Lord Hastings' army, remained quiet; and there is nothing more of importance to record of him.

§ 120. Of the three Pindári leaders *Kharim Khán* surrendered to Sir J. Malcolm in February 1818; *Wasil Muhammad* gave himself up to Sindia, and subsequently poisoned himself; and *Chitu* only remained. He was driven from one place to another, his followers gradually forsaking him, until he was devoured by a tiger in the jungles near Asirgarh. The fort of Asirgarh itself was taken by General Doveton, April 9, 1819.

§ 121. The conclusion of the Pindári war was marked by a general arrangement with the lesser chiefs whom the Mahrattas had hitherto oppressed, bringing them under British protection. After the surrender of Bájí Ráo, the Rájá of Sátára was, with great pomp, restored, and seated on the throne by the British authorities. He immediately issued a proclamation, making over the government to the British Resident.

General Thomas Munro reduced all the country to Sholápur, including Bádámi. The Bombay Government conquered the Concan. Ráigarh, the famous capital of Sivaji, the strongest fort in the east, was taken, May 7. The forts from Púna to Ahmadnagar, and those in the Chándúr range, were taken by Major Eldridge, Colonel McDowell, and Colonel Cunningham. The whole country was now divided among various British officers who gradually brought it in
The Bhíls of the mountains adjoining Khándesh were
submission by Sir John Malcolm. From that time to
progress of the Mahratta country has been rapid and un

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY EUROPEAN ENTERPRISE IN INDIA.

PART I.—THE PORTUGUESE.

§ 1. Early European enterprise. § 2. The sea-route between Europe and India discovered by Vasco da Gama. § 3. Internal condition of India. § 4. Gama at Calicat. § 5. Three subsequent expeditions. § 6. Pacheco and Soarez. § 7. Almeyda, the first Portuguese Viceroy. § 8. The great Albuquerque. § 9. Extent of the Portuguese Empire. § 10. Dismissal and death of Albuquerque. § 11. First Period of subsequent history. § 12. Second Period of subsequent history.

§ 1. During the Middle Ages, European intercourse with India was mainly carried on by the enterprise of the maritime nations inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean; and latterly chiefly by the Venetians and Genoese, who traded with the ports of Syria and Egypt, whither Indian produce was brought through Persia or by the Red Sea. But during the fifteenth century the Portuguese became great navigators. They successively discovered Madeira in A.D. 1420, and the Cape de Verde Islands in A.D. 1460; and thus gradually approached the attainment of their great aim, the discovery of a sea-route to India around the coast of Africa.

§ 2. In 1486 the discovery was partly made by the Portuguese Bartholomew Diaz, who sailed round the most southerly point of Africa, and named it the Cape of Storms; but the King of Portugal ordered it to be named the Cape of Good Hope. The discovery was completed by VASCO DA GAMA, who sailed from Portugal in 1497, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope arrived at Calicat on the 11th of May, 1498. This event put the whole trade of the East into the hands of the Portuguese for a long time.

§ 3. At this time the Empire of Delhi was ruled by Sikandar Lodí, and was seen to fall under the power of Bábar and the

Mughuls [*see* Chap. II., § 78]. The Bahmani dynasty in the Deccan was falling to pieces under a weak monarch, Mahmúd Sháh [*see* Chap. IV., § 10]. The Adil Sháhi dynasty of Bijápur ruled the Concan between the Western Ghâts and the sea, from Goa to Bombay [*see* Chap. IV., § 12]. South of Goa the country was under petty Rájás, of whom the chief was the Zamorin of Calicat [*see* Chap. I., § 94], in whose territories Vasco da Gama first landed.

§ 4. Da Gama landed with great pomp, and had an interview with the Rájá, who received him with kindness; which, however, was son turned into suspicion by the artifices of the Muhammadan traders (commonly called at the time, *Moors*) from Arabia, Egypt, and the eastern coasts of Africa, who had hitherto monopolised the maritime trade of India. Finding his armament insufficient, he returned to Portugal, where he arrived in August 1499.

§ 5. Three Portuguese expeditions, under Cabral in 1500, a second under Gama in 1502, and one under the great brothers ALBUQUERQUE in 1504, successively arrived in India; and gradually established a footing in the country. They were continually engaged in quarrels and wars (often attended with great barbarity) with the native Rájás, especially the Zamorin of Calicat; and they were sometimes in alliance, sometimes at war, with the petty Rájás of Cochin and Cannanor.

§ 6. Under two succeeding commanders, Pacheco and Soarez, the Portuguese power continued to increase. The former distinguished himself by a successful defence of Cochin against the whole force of the Zamorin of Calicat; the latter took the town of Cranganor, 1505.

§ 7. At length the king of Portugal determined to appoint a Portuguese *Viceroy of India*; and ALMEYDA, the first Viceroy, came out in 1505. He received and entertained a splendid embassy from the Rájá of Vijayanagar, who offered to marry his daughter to the prince of Portugal. In his time a terrible naval battle lasting two days, was fought off Chaul, between the Portuguese fleet and that of the Egyptians, aided by the king of Gujarát. The son of Almeyda was slain bravely fighting; and on the whole the Portuguese got the worst of it. Subsequently

Almeyda (after he had been superseded by Albuquerque), avenged his losses and the death of his son, by burning the town of Dábul under circumstances of great cruelty, and by routing the combined fleet of Egypt and Gujarát off Diu. Disgusted at being displaced by Albuquerque, he set sail for Portugal, and on his way home was killed in a skirmish with some Hottentots on the coast of Africa (1509).

§ 8. Alphonso ALBUQUERQUE was the second Viceroy and the most famous man that Portugal sent to India. He landed in 1508. Encouraged by the anarchy which prevailed both in Hindústán under the last Pathána, and in the Deccan under the remnants of the Bahmani dynasty, he hoped to establish a Portuguese empire in India. After failing in one attempt, he succeeded in wresting GOA from the kingdom of Bíjápur; he made it a considerable city, and the capital of the Portuguese possessions in the East. He also, with some difficulty, established his power at Ormuz at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, and at Malacca in the Eastern Archipelago. He sent magnificent embassies to most of the native Courts; and also to Siam, Java, and Sumatra. He encouraged intermarriages between the Portuguese and the natives; and in every way strove to effect a permanent settlement, as well as to consolidate a powerful empire, in the country.

§ 9. The Portuguese Empire in the East attained its highest power and its greatest prosperity under Albuquerque; whom his countrymen, though ungrateful to him in his lifetime, have unanimously styled "the great." A few towns and factories were added to it during the seventy years that followed his death; but these additions were unimportant. The student must however remember that this Empire was almost wholly a *maritime* one. The Portuguese fleets were masters of the Indian Seas; and they possessed many valuable seaports, at which they carried on an extensive trade, and which were guarded by their ships of war. These ports were scattered over an immense extent of coast, from the eastern coasts of Africa and the island of Ormuz on the west, to the Malay Peninsula and the island of the Eastern Archipelago on the east. At the end of the sixteenth century, when their power began to decline, their most important possessions were:—Goa and some minor ports on the

west coast of India, Ceylon, and Malacca in the Malay Peninsula. Besides these they had important settlements in Bengal, of which the chief were Hugli and Chittagong; besides Diu in Gujarát, and many other places of less importance. But they never possessed more than a few miles of territory, even in the neighbourhood of their greatest cities; and their power was usually confined strictly to the limits of their factory or trading settlement.

§ 10. The great Viceroy was in his old age suddenly dismissed from his office by the ungrateful King of Portugal; and he had the mortification of being compelled to hand over the empire which he had established, to his bitterest enemy Soarez, without receiving even a letter from his sovereign to soften the blow. The proud old man could not survive this humiliation; he died broken-hearted (A.D. 1515). In his last moments he dictated a letter to the king, in which he asked His Majesty to take care of his son; and added, with a just sense of his own merits and injuries—"as for the affairs of India, they will speak for themselves and for me." He was buried at Goa. He was one of the greatest naval commanders of Europe; and though often violent in his actions, and always insatiable in his ambition, he possessed some of the highest qualities of a statesman and a leader.

§ 11. After the death of Albuquerque, the annals of the Portuguese in India are not marked by many events of importance. The history may be divided into two periods; the *first*, that of the remainder of the sixteenth century, during which they continued to acquire a few new settlements, and successfully defended themselves from many attacks of the Mughuls, the Muhammadans of the Deccan, and the Mahrattas. The wars between the Portuguese and the native powers were generally carried on with great barbarity; and we often hear of coasts being ravaged and many villages plundered and burnt by the former.

In 1534, when Bahádúr Sháh, the powerful King of Gujarát, was hard-pressed by Humáyún [*see* Chap. III., § 13], the Portuguese Viceroy Nuno da Cunha took the opportunity to attack Diu. He was at first unsuccessful: but was ultimately able by negociation, to occupy the city and build a Fort there [A D. 1536]. The intruders were, however, regarded with great jealousy b

the king. Further negociations followed on the fortification of a post at Súrat in the course of which Bahádúr once went on board the ship of the Portuguese Viceroy, who was sick, or pretended to be so; a quarrel broke out, and in the scuffle that ensued Bahádúr was killed, together with many others, both Natives and Europeans.

Diu was subsequently twice unsuccessfully besieged by the native powers, once in 1538, and again in 1545. In the former siege, the troops of Gujarát were aided by a strong Egyptian force, despatched by the orders of Sulaimán the Magnificent, the Ottoman Sultán of Turkey; and the Portuguese by performing prodigies of valour, only saved the settlement after their numbers were reduced to forty men. In the latter siege, the Portuguese were reinforced by a large armament from Europe; by the aid of which they easily routed their assailants, but they tarnished their victory by the most disgraceful barbarity.

In 1571, they successfully encountered a formidable combination of the kings of Bíjápur and Ahmadnagar and the Zamorin of Calicat. In this war, Goa itself was only relieved after a ten months' siege.

§ 12. The *second period* of the later history commences about the end of the sixteenth century; and comprises little more than a series of losses of territory and power. From 1580 to 1640, Portugal was under the dominion of Spain; and from this time her influence in the East gradually declined, and the Dutch succeeded to her maritime supremacy on the coast of India. In 1607, the Moluccas were seized by the Dutch. In 1622, Persia seized upon Ormuz; and the Imám of Muscat gradually stripped them of most of their possessions on the east coast of Africa. In 1631, their power in Bengal was utterly destroyed by the troops of Sháh Jahán [*see* Chap. III., § 73]. In 1640, Malacca was occupied by the Dutch; and in 1656, they were driven from Ceylon by the same indefatigable enemy. In 1662, they were compelled to submit to the terrible Sivaji, and to pay tribute to the Mahrattas, by whom they were subsequently continually harassed. Bassein was taken by the Mahrattas in 1739 after a terrible siege [*see* Chap. V., § 31].

For the present possessions of Portugal in India, see Introduction, § 14.

PART II.—THE DUTCH AND DANISH SETTLEMENTS.

§ 13. Early Dutch enterprise. § 14. The Dutch East India Company. § 15. The Danes in India.

§ 13. The splendour of the Portuguese acquisitions in the East had soon attracted the attention of the enterprising navigators of Holland: they at first endeavoured to find a sea road to India around the north of Europe and Asia. When this failed, they boldly sent (A.D. 1594) an expedition of four ships under a famous sailor named Houtmann, to the Eastern Archipelago; and soon endeavoured to divert to themselves the commerce hitherto enjoyed only by the Portuguese. In 1605 they took from the latter their settlements in Amboyna and Tidor, and fully established their naval supremacy in the East.

§ 14. At an early period the Dutch settled in great strength in Bengal; the town and fort of Chinsurah near Hugli was long the head-quarters of their continental power in India; and though often taken and retaken by the British, it remained in their hands until 1824, when it was finally made over to the British Government in exchange for some English possessions in Sumatra. In 1656 the Dutch drove out the Portuguese from Ceylon, where they themselves established large and prosperous factories. They at length founded the Colony of Batavia, on the north-west coast of Java, which is still the capital of the Dutch settlements in the East. In 1640, they drove the Portuguese from Malacca; and their only rivals in the eastern seas and islands were the English. Their chief settlements in India were at Chinsurah, at Nágapatam (taken from Portugal, 1660), Sadras, Palikat, and Bimlipatam. These have all fallen into the hands of the British.

§ 15. The Government of Denmark has only held two ments in India, at *Tranquebar* (bought from the Rájá of ' A.D. 1616) and at *Serampor* or Strirámpur on the Hugli.

never took any prominent part in the politics of India ; and at last their possessions were bought by the British Government, in 1845.

PART III.—THE EARLY ENGLISH IN INDIA.

§ 16. Early English expeditions. § 17. The East India Company. § 18. Hawkins and Middleton. § 19. Sir Thomas Roe. § 20. Early trade. § 21. Mr. Boughton. § 22. Madras founded. § 23. Siege of Súrat. § 24. Bombay obtained from the Portuguese. § 25. The English in Bengal.

§ 16. The first attempts of the English to reach India, like those of the Dutch, were by the north-east passage through the Arctic seas, and the corresponding north-west passage along the northern shores of North America : and many expeditions were sent, and many lives and much treasure lost in these fruitless expeditions. A student of New College at Oxford, named Stevens, was one of the first Englishmen who landed in India, and sent home an account of his travels. He was followed in 1583 by Newberry and Fitch, who travelled through Syria to India, bearing a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar. Fitch's account is still extant, and gives a valuable description of the country and its inhabitants.

§ 17. The first English expedition that sailed for India by the direct route round the Cape of Good Hope, started in 1591 under Lancaster and some others ; but it degenerated into a piratical cruise, and ended disastrously, all the ships being lost or deserted successively. Notwithstanding this ill success, the British East India Company was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. [It may here be noted that a Second Company was set on foot in 1698 ; and the old and the new Companies were amalgamated in 1708.] Its first expedition was in 1601, again under the command of Lancaster, and was eminently successful ; and was quickly followed by others.

§ 18. In 1608, Captain Hawkins arrived in Súrat with letters to Jahángír from James I. and the East India Company ; he was graciously received by the Emperor, and remained three years in Agra. A still more important expedition under Sir Henry Middleton, arrived off Kámbay in 1611 ; he resolutely fought the

Portuguese who tried to beat him off; and obtained some important concessions from the native powers.

§ 19. Jahángír in 1613 had given permission to the English to establish four factories in the Mughul dominions. The trade of the English was established on a more secure footing by the great embassy of Sir Thomas Roe [*see* Chap. III., § 62.]

§ 20. In 1611, the English first landed on the eastern coast, at Masulipatam; and in 1616, they had factories there and at Súrat, and Calicat. But their chief trade was as yet with the islands of the Eastern Archipelago; and though Súrat was their greatest emporium in India, it long continued subordinate to the factory of Bantam in Java.

§ 21. An English surgeon named Boughton, resident in Súrat, was sent for by the Emperor Sháh Jahán in 1638, to attend his sick daughter. He succeeded in curing her, and obtained from the grateful Emperor important commercial privileges. By similar success in his profession, he obtained similar concessions from the Viceroy of Bengal; and in 1656, the English erected a fortress at Hugli.

§ 22. In 1640, they obtained the site of Madras from a brother of Rám Rájá of Bijánagar [*see* Chap. IV., § 18]. It was fortified by order of King Charles I., and called Fort St. George; and in 1653 made the seat of a Presidency on the Coromandel Coast.

§ 23. Súrat was attacked by Sivaji in 1664. All fled but the English; who under Sir George Oxenden gallantly and successfully defended their factory, and protected the inhabitants.

Their bravery was acknowledged by Aurangzeb, who now made large concessions, in remitting customs, dues, &c., to the Company.

§ 24. Bombay was a part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, Queen of Charles II., and in 1668, that king made it over to the East India Company, who now removed thither the Presidency of the western coast formerly at Súrat.

§ 25. As early as 1611, the English had traded with Masulipatam; and in 1634 they obtained permission to build a factory at Pipli near Balasor. In 1656 they built a factory at Hugli [*see* § 21]. But in 1686, owing mainly to their violence, they we

expelled from this place, as well as from Kasimbazár and Patna, and from Súrat and most of their possessions (except Bombay) on the west coast, by orders of Aurangzeb. In 1698, the villages of Chattanati, Calcutta, and Govindpur were purchased by permission of Azímus-Shán, grandson of Aurangzeb. A fort was ordered to be built, and called Fort William in honour of King William III. The history of Calcutta to 1756 is little else than a record of the efforts of the British merchants to resist the exactions of the Nawáb of Murshidábád. In 1716 a deputation was sent to the Emperor Furrukh Siyar to secure a greater degree of protection from the native powers [*see* Chap. III., § 119]. They were successful, and Calcutta was thereupon declared a separate Presidency. The term *Presidency*, as applied to Súrat (afterwards to Bombay), to Madras and to Calcutta, originally meant that the chief of each of these factories respectively was supreme also over the subordinate factories in that part of India. In 1742 the Mahrattas attacked Bengal, demanding *Chauth*. It was then the Mahratta ditch was dug around Calcutta, to afford protection against a repetition of the attack. We shall return in the next Chapter [§ 35] to the history of the British in Bengal.

PART IV.—THE FRENCH IN INDIA.

§ 26. Caron and the French East India Company. § 27. Pondicherry founded by Martin. § 28. Attacked by the Dutch. § 29. Chandernagar and Mahé taken. § 30. Dupleix in Chandernagar. § 31. Dumas. § 32. Chandá Saheb. § 33. Invasion of the Mahrattas. § 34. Successful resistance of the French. § 35. Chandá Saheb a prisoner. § 36. Ambitious plans of Dupleix. § 37. La Bourdonnais. § 38. Anwar-ud-dín.

§ 26. The first expedition sent to India by the French was in 1604; but it was not till 1664 that a French East India Company was established on a firm footing under the patronage of Louis XIV., when a factory was established (near those of the English and Dutch) at Súrat. The first Governor was Caron.

§ 27. Ten years later, in 1674, under MARTIN (the real founder of French power in India) they bought the site of Pondicherry, from the Bíjápur king: and this was henceforward their capital. Sivaji in his expedition to the Carnatic [*see* Chap. V., § 15] threatened the young settlement, but was conciliated by Martin.

§ 28. The Dutch soon grew jealous of the rising influence of Martin, and offered to buy Pondicherry from the Mahratta Rájá Rám, half-brother of Sambaji [*see* Chap. V., § 21]; but the latter honourably refused the bribe. Rájá Rám however was soon overwhelmed by the armies of Aurangzeb, and besieged in Ginji; the Mughuls took the bribe of the Dutch, and enabled them to take Pondicherry from the French in 1693. It was restored at the Peace of Ryswick in 1697; and Martin now enlarged and fortified it, and by his able administration made it a great commercial city, and the centre of a considerable French power in the Carnatic.

§ 29. In 1688, the French obtained from Aurangzeb a settlement at Chandernagar on the Hugli. In 1725, Mahé was added to the French possessions. It was taken chiefly by the daring and ingenuity of a young French naval officer, Mahe de La Bourdonnais, who afterwards became famous.

§ 30. In 1731, Joseph Francois DUPLEIX was appointed Director of Chandernagar, which he raised from a well-nigh deserted port to a flourishing emporium. He also amassed by trade, then permitted to the company's servants, a vast fortune. He remained in Chandernagar till 1741, when he went to Pondicherry as Governor-General of the French possessions in India.

§ 31. Dupleix's predecessor was Dumas, who had formerly been Governor of the French islands in the Indian Ocean, and who succeeded Martin at Pondicherry in 1735. He was the first Frenchman who actively interfered with the affairs of the native princes.

§ 32. Dost Alí was at this time the Nawáb of the Carnatic, his uncle Saádat-ullah Khán having succeeded in making that office hereditary in his family; Nizám-ul-mulk was Viceroy of the Deccan, and Bájí Ráo the powerful Peshwá of the Mahrattas. The most prominent person in the Carnatic, however, at this time was CHANDA SAHEB, son-in-law of Dost Alí, who was always a great friend of the French. In 1736, by the basest treachery against the unprotected and widowed Rání of Trichinápalli, he made himself master of that place. Another affair in which he was concerned was of considerable importance to the French; this was the conquest of Kárikal and the adjoining territory from the

Mahratta Rájá of Tanjor (Sáhuji, a relative of Sivaji), which he handed over to his French allies in 1739. Kárikal still belongs to France.

§ 33. These encroachments of the Muhammadan powers of the Carnatic naturally incurred the resentment of the Mahrattas. Raghuji Bhonslé of Barár [*see* Chap. V., § 33] and Morári Ráo advanced with a large army into the Carnatic; overthrew Dost Alí in a battle near AMBUR (about 120 miles north-west of Madras), in which the Nawáb himself was slain, 1740. They then agreed to recognise Safdar Alí, the son of Dost Alí, as Nawáb of the Carnatic, he in return promising to pay a large tribute, and to assist them in expelling his brother-in-law Chandá Saheb from Trichinápalli.

§ 34. The widow of Dost Alí and the wife and son of Chandá Saheb had taken refuge in Pondicherry; and Raghuji now threatened to exterminate the French if they refused to surrender them. Dumas, however, bravely declared that "all the French in India would die first; and prepared Pondicherry for a siege. Subsequently Raghuji, impressed by the courage of Dumas, left Pondicherry unmolested. The brave French Governor, for this successful resistance to the Mahrattas, received the thanks of the Súbahdár of the Deccan (Nizam-ul-mulk), of the Nawab of the Carnatic (Safdar Alí), and of the Emperor of Delhi (Muhammad Shah); by the last he was created a Nawáb. In the height of his glory he resigned his office to Dupleix, 1741.

§ 35. The Mahrattas had invested Trichinápalli; and early in 1741 they took Chandá Saheb prisoner, and conveyed him to Sátára, where he remained in prison for seven long years. Here he formed a romantic friendship with MUZAFFAR JANG, the grandson of the Nizam-ul-mulk [*see* Chap. VII., § 11], who visited Sátára in 1748 to seek Mahratta aid; they were both destined to play an important part in the coming struggles between the French and the English in the Carnatic.

§ 36. Dupleix, from the time of his accession in 1741, appears to have formed the plan of expelling the English from India, and of establishing a French Empire here; and just about the same time, an opportunity offered itself of making the attempt, for a

war broke out between the English and French in Europe, which lasted from 1740 to 1748.

§ 37. In 1746, Dupleix was joined by another great French leader, La BOURDONNAIS (the Governor of the French islands in the Indian Ocean) [*see* § 29], who arrived at Nágapatam with a considerable fleet, which he had equipped for the purpose of co-operating with his countrymen in India. He boldly attacked the English fleet which had been injuring the French trade under the orders of Mr. Morse, who was then Governor of Madras. The English fleet unaccountably avoided an engagement and took refuge in Trincomalee. Madras thus was left exposed to the French attacks; and thus unfavourably to the English commenced a struggle between the two European nations which was to last for fifteen years.

§ 38. In 1742, Safdar Alí was assassinated by his brother-in-law Murtazá Alí, leaving an infant son as his successor. His family and treasures were put under the protection of the English; and the whole Carnatic was in a state of anarchy and confusion, when at last Nizám-ul-mulk (nominally the Súbahdár of the Deccan, but really independent) intervened, and demanded the arrears of tribute due to him. He reduced the Carnatic to order; and left ANWAR-UD-DIN, one of his veteran officers, as guardian of the infant Nawáb. The latter was assassinated also in the same year, 1734; and ANWAR-UD-DIN was appointed Nawab. Chandá Saheb was still a prisoner at Sátára, in the hands of the Mahrattas, or he would doubtless have opposed the elevation of Anwar-ud-dín.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RISE OF THE BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

PART I.—THE FIRST GREAT WAR BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE ENGLISH IN THE CARNATIC. A.D. 1746—1748.

§ 1. Dupleix and La Bourdonnais. § 2. Madras captured by the French. § 3. End of La Bourdonnais. § 4 Defeat of Anwar-ud-dín. § 5. Paradis, Governor of Madras. § 6. Defence of Cuddalor. § 7. Siege of Pondicherry. § 8. Triumph of Dupleix. § 9. State of India in 1748.

§ 1. La Bourdonnais landed at Pond icherry (1746) after the departure of the English fleet; and at first expressed the greatest devotion to Dupleix and to the French cause. A bitter jealousy, however, soon sprang up between them, which was the ruin of the interests of the French in India. La Bourdonnais was subordinate to Dupleix on land; but he had the supreme command of the ships. Dupleix was by far the acuter and more far-seeing statesman, but La Bourdonnais was the better soldier.

§ 2. One of the first acts of Anwar-ud-dín, after his accession in the Carnatic, had been to defend the French against the encroachments of the English. Now, however, when Morse the English Governor implored him similarly to restrain the French, he refused to interfere; and to add to the misfortunes of the English, the fleet which ought to have opposed La Bourdonnais, sailed away to Bengal. After many delays, Dupleix, with some difficulty, induced his colleague to march on Madras; and he did so with an army of 4,000 men, of whom more than 3,000 were Europeans. There were not 400 English troops in Madras, and the fortifications were very weak; and Morse was compelled to surrender the town to the French, and to give up his men as prisoners of war on the 21st September 1746.

§ 3. Dupleix now determined to follow up this important conquest by driving the English out of India, but he was thwarted by the selfishness of La Bourdonnais. The latter received a large

bribe from the English, and agreed to allow them to ransom the town of Madras. Dupleix refused to assent to this; but La Bourdonnais hastily signed the treaty, and sailed away with his fleet which had been much injured by a storm On his return to France, he was thrown into prison, where he remained three years. He died in 1753, being unable to survive his disgrace.

§ 4. The Nawáb Anwar-ud-dín was naturally alarmed at the great power which the French were gaining by their advantages, over the English. He had threatened to interfere during the siege of Madras; but Dupleix had assured him that he would give up the town to the Nawáb when taken. This agreement he now refused to carry out; at all events, not until he had destroyed the fort. The Nawáb sent an army of 10,000 men under his son, to enforce his claims; but they were utterly routed by an able French general named PARADIS, at the head of 230 Europeans and 700 sepoys.

§ 5. The Nawáb was now at the mercy of Dupleix; who immediately repudiated the treaty of La Bourdonnais, appointed Paradis Governor of Madras, and sent the English prisoners to Pondicherry. Those that escaped, the remains of the English force, fortified themselves in Fort St. David, about twelve miles south of Pondicherry; and successfully repelled an attack of the French. Presently a strong English fleet arrived on the coast and threatened Pondicherry; and the English were thus relieved from all further danger.

§ 6. Dupleix had patched up an accommodation with the Nawáb Anwar-ud-dín, who promised to assist him; the latter, however, soon forsook Dupleix, and joined the English. About this time Cuddalor was attacked by the French, and skilfully defended by Major Stringer LAWRENCE, one of the English heroes of this war, A.D. 1748.

§ 7. Lawrence now proceeded to attack Pondicherry; but was taken prisoner whilst besieging Arian kúpam, a fortified outpost about two miles from Pondicherry. This place was obstinately defended by Law; but it was at length taken, and the French were besieged in Pondicherry by Admiral Boscawen, now Commander-in-Chief of the English. Paradis fell early in the siege.

Dupleix, almost unsupported, maintained the defence for five weeks; and the besiegers (amongst whom was young Clive) were at length compelled, by sickness and the setting in of the rains, to desist from their attempt.

§ 8. The French were unable to reap much advantage from this exploit of Dupleix; for almost immediately afterwards, news arrived of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had been made between France and England, in which it was agreed that all conquests in India were to be restored, and everything left exactly as it was before the war.

§ 9. It will be useful to take a survey of the general state of Hindústán and the Deccan at the time of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Muhammad Sháh, the last Emperor of Delhi who possessed any real power, died this year [*see* Chap. III., § 138]; so did the Mahratta Sáhu, grandson of Sivaji; and the third Peshwá, Báláji Báji Ráo was the real head of the Mahrattas; who were now at the height of their power. Nizám-ul-mulk, too, died in this eventful year, at the age of 104; though nominally only Súbahdár of the Deccan, he had attained perfect independence and made that dignity hereditary; and very soon commenced the struggles for the succession amongst his sons. In the same year too virtually commenced the struggle for the Nawábship of the Carnatic between Chánda Sáheb and Anwar-ud-dín; for the former was now released from his Mahratta prison at Sátára. Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa were under the power of the usurper Alívardi Khán [*see* § 35]; and Oudh was under the nephew of Saádat Khán, Safdar Jang, who was really independent, though nominally only Vazír of the Emperor of Delhi. The AfghánRohillas in Rohilkhand were also independent, and Haidar waa rising int o power at Mysore. The relative positions of the French and English in the Carnatic have just been described, and need not be mentioned here.

PART II.—FROM THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE (1748) TO THE FRENCH SUPREMACY IN 1751.

§ 10. English Interference in Tanjor. § 11. Disputes in the Deccan. § 12. Second Battle of Ambur, and Triumph of the French Party. § 13. Muhammad Alí asks for English help. § 14. Defeat of Muhammad Alí. § 15. Storming of Ginjí. § 16. Murder of Násir Jang. § 17. Dupleix triumphant. § 18. Murder of Muzaffar Jang, and accession of Salábat Jang. § 19. Position of the French in 1751.

§ 10. The English now interfered in the affairs of the Tanjor Ráj, which were in a deplorable condition. Sáhuji the Rájá had been expelled by his illegitimate brother Pratáb Singh; and the former, in 1748, offered to cede to the English the important fortress of Devikottah and its adjacent territory, as the price of their assistance in the recovery of his rightful possessions. The English assented; and though they were unsuccessful in restoring Sáhuji at once as he had expected, they sent a force under Major Lawrence which stormed Devikottah. The usurper Partáb Singh now consented to confirm the English in the possession of this territory, and to settle a pension on Sáhuji, in return for the unmolested enjoyment of the Tanjor Ráj.

§ 11. When Nízám-ul-mulk died in 1748, Muzaffar Jang ought to have succeeded him, according to the terms of his grandfather's will; but Násir Jang, the second son, who had formerly been in rebellion against his father, seized the treasures, and by the aid of the army proclaimed himself Súbahdár of the Deccan. Muzaffar now went to Sátára to implore the aid of the Mahrattas; he there met the prisoner Chandá Sáheb, with whom he formed an intimate friendship; and Muzaffar Jang and Chandá Saheb joined in asking the help of the French.

§ 12. Dupleix immediately paid a sum of money to the Mahrattas to obtain the release of Chandá Sáheb; and by uniting the French forces with those raised by Chandá Sáheb and a large contingent under Muzaffar Jang, he succeeded in defeating Anwar-ud-dín, who was slain with his eldest son, A.D. 1749. The battle was fought at Ambur; at first the French General was D'Autaeil, but he was murdered, and his place taken by Bussy. The result of the battle was that Chandá Sáheb took possession of Arcot next day; and Muzaffar Jang proclaimed him-

self Súbahdár of the Deccan, and nominated Chandá Sáheb Nawáb of the Carnatic. These two chiefs now proceeded to Pondicherry to offer their thanks of Dupleix, who also obtained the gift of eighty-one villages around Pondicherry.

§ 13. The triumph of the French and their allies was marred by these dilatory proceedings of Muzaffar Jang and Chandá Sáheb. The younger son and heir of Anwar-ud-dín, Muhammad Alí, had taken refuge in the strong town of Trichinápalli: and his enemies, instead of immediately following him, wasted time in pomps and festivals at Pondicherry, and in an attempt to extort treasure from the Rájá of Tanjor. In the meantime Násir Jang had marched from the northern frontier of the Deccan with an immense force of his own troops aided by a large mercenary band of Mahrattas. There was disaffection among the French: and at last, at Valdár, near Pondicherry, Chandá Sáheb was obliged to fly, Muzaffar was taken prisoner by his uncle Násir Jang, and the latter (now undisputed Súbahdár of the Deccan) proclaimed Muhammad Alí, Nawáb of the Carnatic. Lawrence had joined Násir Jang with a small English force, and now shared in his triumph.

§ 14. Násir Jang, however, was a mere debauchee who could only be stirred into resolute action by extraordinary occasions; and owing partly to this cause, and partly to disaffection of his leaders, who were corrupted by French intrigues, he allowed his ally Muhammad Alí to be nearly crushed. The latter now so disgusted his English allies that they deserted him; and the consequence was a great defeat near Cuddalor, after which he fled to Arcot.

§ 15. The French troops under Bussy, after this victory marched against Ginjí, the most powerful stronghold in the Carnatic; which they stormed in the most gallant way in twenty-four hours.

§ 16. Násir Jang, roused by the loss of Ginjí, now took the field, carrying with him his prisoner Muzaffar Jang; but many of his chief leaders, the Nawábs of Kadapa, Karnúl, and Sávanúr, and some others, were traitors and had determined to make away with him, and set up Muzaffar. As the French forces approached

Násir Jang gave orders that Muzaffar should be guarded by an officer, who was to shoot him at the first appearance of treason; but this officer was himself one of the traitors. In the midst of this action the conspirators joined the French; and Násir Jang was shot through the heart by the Nawáb of Kadapa. Muzaffar was once more proclaimed Súbahdár of the Deccan, and again proceeded to Pondicherry to thank Dupleix and to ask his advice. This was in 1750; and that year and the following one saw the climax of French power in India.

§ 17. Dupleix ordered a town to be built on the battle-field to be called Dupleix-fath-ábád; together with a triumphal pillar or column, bearing on its four sides inscriptions in various languages in praise of his exploits, (this was destroyed by Clive in 1752 [*see* § 23]. Muzaffar was formally installed as Súbahdár of the Deccan in Pondicherry, with the greatest pomp; he showered presents on Dupleix and on the French East India Company, and made the former collector of the revenues of all the countries south of the river Krishna. Even Muhammad Alí seemed inclined to submit to French influence, and to acknowledge his rival Chandá Sáheb as Nawáb of the Carnatic; and he offered to accept, in return, his father's treasures and another territory in the Deccan.

§ 18. It was now (January 1751) arranged that Bussy should accompany Muzaffar to his capital Aurangábád, at the head of a body of French troops; and that he should reside at the court in order to advise and assist the Súbahdár. On the march, however, the three turbulent Nawábs who had dethroned Násir Jang, conspired against Muzaffar, who, in a conflict that ensued, was killed by the Nawáb of Karnúl. Bussy was at first perplexed by this unexpected occurrence; but he soon recovered his presence of mind, and proclaimed as Súbahdár a younger son of Nizám-ul-mulk, named Salábat Jang, who had been kept in irons by Muzaffar. Salábat Jang was conducted by Bussy in safety to Aurangábád, where he was installed as Súbahdár of the Deccan. He was naturally devoted to the cause of the French, and especially o his benefactor and protector Bussy.

§ 19. In this way, the vast territories, included within the Súbah of the Deccan, were (1751) completely under French

influence. They were masters of the Northern Circars with a strong force in Masulipatam. Their ally and creature Chandá Sáheb was Nawáb of the Carnatic. The English with difficulty maintained themselves in Madras, Fort St. David, and Devikottah.

PART III.—FROM THE DEFENCE OF ARCOT TO THE DEPARTURE OF DUPLEIX. A.D. 1751—1754.

§ 20. Muhammad Alí besieged in Trichinápalli. § 21. Clive. § 22. His defence of Arcot. § 23. His further success. § 24. Capitulation of the French, and death of Chandá Sáheb at Srirangam. § 25. Renewed attempts of Dupleix. § 26. Siege of Trichinápalli. Recall and death of Dupleix.

§ 20. Muhammad Alí, though he had offered to surrender the Carnatic to his rival, still maintained himself in Trichinápalli; and the English reluctantly promised to help him against Chandá Sáheb and the French, who now proceeded closely to blockade the town. Trichinápalli was about to fall, and both the English and Muhammad Alí would have been irretrievably ruined, when the genius of Lieutenant Robert CLIVE completely changed the aspect of affairs.

§ 21. Clive, the son of a gentleman of small property in Shropshire, was born in 1725; and landed in India as a civilian in 1743. His active and violent disposition made him unfitted for the civil service, which at that time was still chiefly engaged in commercial operations; and consequently on the breaking out of war with the French, he had obtained a commission in the army as an Ensign. He distinguished himself at the first siege of Pondicherry and at the taking of Devikottah in 1748; and now his courage and skill rescued the English cause from almost certain ruin.

§ 22. Mr. Saunders was now Governor of Madras; and Clive went to him, and begged to be allowed to relieve Trichinápalli by carrying the war into the enemy's own country. He determined to seize Arcot itself, the capital of the Nawáb Chandá Sáheb; and having effected this, with only 200 Europeans, 300 sepoys, and a few light guns, he prepared to defend the fortress against the overwhelming forces sent against him from Chandá Sáheb's army that was besieging Trichinápalli, 1751. With this little band of heroes reduced to 320 men and four officers, he made good his position

for seven weeks against 10,000 men headed by Rájá Sáheb, the son of Chandá Sáheb. The people seeing Clive and his men march steadily in a storm of thunder and lightning, said they were fireproof, and fled before him. The hero contemptuously refused Rájá Sáheb's bribes, and laughed at his threats. When provisions failed in the besieged town, the sepoys came with a request that they might cook the rice, retaining for themselves only the water it was boiled in, handing over every grain of it to the Europeans, who required, they said, more solid food—such self-denial and heroic zeal had Clive's influence inspired in these men! Morári Ráo, the Mahratta chief of Gutti, and his 6,000 men, who were not far from Ambur waiting to see the course of events, joined Clive, saying, "since the English can so nobly help themselves we will help them." Mr. Saunders exerted himself energetically to aid the gallant garrison; and after a desperate assault in which he lost 400 men, Rájá Sáheb raised the siege. The moral effect of this memorable defence was incalculable in firmly establishing the prestige of the English.

§ 23. Clive now gained victory after victory; and in March 1752 he demolished the town of Dupleix-fath-ábád and the pillar of Dupleix, as a sign that he had demolished the French power in India. Lawrence, who had been in England, returned to India in the same month to take command of the English forces; and he and Clive now marched to the relief of Trichinápalli.

§ 24. After many struggles, Law and the whole besieging French force were driven into the island of Srírangam, a small island near Trichinápalli formed by the branches of the Coleroon and the Káverí. Here they were closely besieged by Lawrence and Clive in the name of Muhammad Alí. Chandá Sáheb at length delivered himself up as a prisoner to the Tanjor commander Mánakji, by whom he was stabbed to the heart; and his head was taken to his triumphant rival Muhammad Alí. Two days later (June 1752), Law and his force of 785 Frenchmen and 2,000 sepoys surrendered themselves with 41 pieces of cannon and all military stores to the English; and they were conveyed as prisoners of war to Fort St. David and Trichinápalli. Thus ended Chandá Sáheb; and thus were dissipated all Dupleix's ambitious schemes for the

French in the Carnatic, though Bussy was still all powerful at Aurangábád with the Súbahdár of the Deccan.

§ 25. From this time to the departure of Dupleix from India, late in 1754, he was continually engaged in attempts, more or less successful, to retrieve the French cause. He succeeded, by his intrigues, in alienating most of their native allies from the English and their friend Muhammad Alí; and thus deprived them of the help of the Tanjor forces under its Rájá Partáb Singh, the Mysor forces under Nandiráj and Haidar, and the Mahrattas under Morári Ráo. He even tampered with Muhammad Alí himself; and was at the time engaged in negotiating with Mr. Saunders, the English Governor. He was appointed by Salábat Jang (in whose Court Bussy still resided) Nawáb of the Carnatic; and nominated as his deputy, first Rájá Sáheb (the son of Chandá Sáheb and the assailant of Clive at Arcot) and afterwards Murtazá Alí (the murderer of Safdar Alí) [*see* Chap. VI., § 38]. Clive, who had gallantly captured Covelong and Chingleput *(Chengalpat)* under great difficulties returned for a time to England in 1752; leaving Lawrence in sole command of the British forces.

§ 26. In 1754, the French once more invested Trichinápalli, but the town was successfully defended by the English under Lawrence. This siege lasted till the beginning of 1755; and in the meantime Dupleix had fallen into disgrace with the French Government at home, who were wearied by the wars caused by his ambition, and who now sent out Godeheu to supersede him. He left India in 1754, a ruined and broken-hearted man; and died in abject poverty at Paris in 1764.

PART IV.—DECLINE OF THE FRENCH CAUSE A.D. 1754—1761

§ 27. Peace between French and English. § 28. The last Great Struggle, 1757—1761. § 29. Clive's Return. § 30. Decay of French Power under Lally. § 31. The Second Siege of Madras. § 32. The Battle of Wandewash. § 33. Ruin of the French Cause. § 34. Summary of the History of the War.

§ 27. The new French Governor was pledged to make peace in the Carnatic; so Saunders, who had so long resisted the pretensions of Dupleix, now obtained all the concessions he demanded

from the French. A treaty was signed in January 1755, by which it was agreed that in future neither English nor French should interfere in the concerns of the native states; that the possessions of the two nations in the Carnatic should be equalised, and that Muhammad Alí should remain Nawáb of the Carnatic. Bussy however remained at Aurangábád.

§ 28. This peace did not last long; and it was followed by the final struggle between the rival companies, which commenced in January 1757, and ended in January 1761. In violation of the treaty the English had assisted Muhammad Alí, the Nawab of the Carnatic, in enforcing the payment of revenue; and the French had similarly assisted the regent of Mysor, Nandi Ráj. Thus both had broken the treaty, and both were prepared for war.

§ 29. Clive, now a Lieutenant-Colonel, was sent out to India as Governor of Madras; Admiral Watson being at the head of a powerful fleet to assist him. Having reduced the pirate Fort of Gheriah on the west coast [*see* Chap. V., § 38] they arrived at Madras early in 1756; but were soon called off to Bengal to exact terrible retribution for the atrocities of the Black Hole [*see* § 38]. At the end of the year (after Clive had gone to Bengal), the news arrived from Europe that war had again broken out between England and France.

§ 30. The French Government sent out Count LALLY to drive the English out of India; he landed in April 1757; and under his Government, though from no fault of his own, the French power in India was utterly ruined. A considerable French force had been sent to Haidarábád in 1756, to help Bussy; but the latter was now recalled, and his return was the death-blow to French influence in the Deccan. Bussy himself was chiefly intent on preserving the immense fortune which he had accumulated during his residence at the Nizam's (Salábat Jang's) court; and nearly the whole of the other French officials under Lally were actuated by mercenary or corrupt motives.

§ 31. Notwithstanding the disorganised state of affairs in Pondicherry, Lally's first efforts were so far successful, that in a few weeks he had taken Fort St. David; and in December 1758, he proceeded to invest Madras. Pigott was the Governor of Madras,

Lawrence its chief soldier. There was no order or discipline in the French camp, in spite of all the efforts of Lally; and the arrival of a strong English fleet under Admiral Pocock at last compelled him to raise the siege and to retreat precipitately to Pondicherry in February 1759.

§ 32. In the course of the year, reinforcements arrived from England under Colonel Eyre COOTE. The campaign commenced in December 1759. Lally and Bussy attacked the town of WANDEWASH (*Wandwás*), and Coote instantly marched to relieve it. A battle ensued, in which the French were totally routed, and the heroic Bussy made prisoner. This battle at once put an end to the idea of a French Empire in India.

§ 33. In a very short time all the towns held by the French or subject to their influence, were successively taken by Coote; and in January 1761, Pondicherry itself surrendered, and Lally was sent as a prisoner of war at Madras. He was subsequently beheaded in Paris in 1766. The French East India Company ceased to exist in 1769.

§ 34. A summary of the chief events in the struggles between the English and French in the Carnatic will be useful to the student.

(1). Madras was twice besieged by the French, successfully in 1746, and unsuccessfully in 1757.

(2). Pondicherry also was twice besieged by the English, unsuccessfully in 1748, and successfully in 1760-61.

(3). Trichinápalli was thrice besieged, successfully in 1752 by the English, and unsuccessfully in 1751 and in 1754-55 by the French.

(4). Paradis, by his defeat of Anwar-ud-dín in 1746 against immense odds, first showed that native troops are little better than useless against Europeans. The storming of Ginjí by Bussy in 1749, and the capture and defence of Arcot by Clive in 1751, were the most famous exploits of these wars.

(5). Of the rival potentates set up by France and England respectively in the Deccan, Násir Jang, (ally of the English), perished; so did Muzaffar Jang, the first nominee of the French; but their final nominee, Salábat Jang, maintained his place. In the Carnatic, Chandá Sáheb, the ally of the French, was slain;

whilst Muhammad Alí, the creature of the English, made good his position.

(6). During the later years of this war, the heroism of Clive in Bengal firmly established the English power in India.

PART V.—THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH POWER IN BENGAL FROM ALIVIRDI KHAN'S USURPATION TO THE BLACK HOLE TRAGEDY. A.D. 1740—1756.

§ 35. Alívirdi Khán. § 36. Siráj-ud-daulah. § 37. The attack on Calcutta. § 38. The Black Hole.

§ 35. During the struggles in the Carnatic between the English and the French, which have been described in the preceding parts of this chapter, the British settlements in Bengal were at first of less importance than either those in the south or those on the western coast. But gradually, during the later years of that period, they became the most important of all; and in their fate, which was decided at this time, was involved the fate of India. The Nawáb of Bengal, Múrshid Kulí Khán (from whom Múrshídábád takes its name), who died in 1725, had thrown many vexatious impediments in the way of the English traders at Calcutta; but under his son Shujá-ud-dín, their position greatly improved. One of the Umarás in the Court of Shujá was Alívirdi Khán; who, on the death of his master, set aside the weak and imprudent heir of Shujá and usurped the Government. His rule however was beneficent; and though the Mahrattas at this time continually devastated the fertile plains of the Lower Ganges, he did his best to protect the English, who consequently paid without much complaint the heavy demands he made upon them. In 1742, he permitted them to surround Calcutta with a moat for its protection against the Mahrattas, called the Mahratta Ditch.

§ 36. In 1756, Alívirdi Khán, died, and was succeeded by his grandson Siráj-ud-daulah, a monster of cruelty and lust. He oppressed his Hindú subjects in the most atrocious manner; degrading the noblest families of Bengal by his licentiousness, impoverishing them by his extortions, and terrifying them by his inhuman oppressions

The independence of the English soon made them the objects of the special hatred of this wretch; and his anger was further inflamed by their protecting, and refusing to give up, one of the victims of his jealousy. Their wealth also doubtless attracted his cupidity; whilst the recent successes of their countrymen in the Carnatic and at Gheriah aroused his fears. He consequently seized and plundered the company's factory at Kasimbazár, near his capital Múrshídábád; taking as prisoners all the English officers, amongst whom was young Warren Hastings, now twenty-four years of age.

§ 37. He then marched on Calcutta, where the English Council were altogether unprepared for such an attack. They tried in vain to conciliate the Nawáb; and in their distress asked help from the Dutch at Chinsurah and the French at Chandernagar, who only replied with a contemptuous offer of protection within the walls of the latter settlement. The Nawáb arrived before Calcutta on the 16th June 1756; and after a slight check at the Mahratta Ditch, began to bombard the fragile defences of the English, who were soon driven within the walls of the fort. They now (18th June) held some hurried and disorderly councils; the women and children were sent on board one of the vessels in the river under the charge of two high officials; and at nightfall the Governor (named Drake) lost courage and went off to the ships in the last boat. The ships now weighed anchor and dropped down the river to Faltah, leaving the unfortunate soldiers and officers of the garrison to their fate.

§ 38. The latter elected Mr. Holwell as their leader; who the following morning, felt himself compelled to negotiate, and in the afternoon the Nawáb's army marched in. The Nawáb summoned Mr. Holwell to his presence, accused him of rebellion and of having concealed the treasures of the English factory; but promised him that no harm should happen to the prisoners. Notwithstanding this, the whole garrison consisting of 146 men were crammed into a small dungeon eighteen feet square, with very small apertures for light and air. This miserable dungeon, ever since infamous in history under the name of THE BLACK HOLE, had been used as a place of punishment for single individuals; and the

torments now endured by the unhappy prisoners, during a night of the hottest season of the year, were more terrible than anything that has ever been described. They endeavoured by alternate threats and bribes to induce their jailors either to put an end to their tortures by death, or to obtain better quarters from the Nawáb; but the miscreant Síráj was asleep, and the guards were (or pretended to be) afraid to awake him. At first the struggles of the victims for the places near the windows, and for the few skins of water that were handed in to them, were terrific; but the ravings of madness gradually subsided into the moans of exhaustion; and in the morning, only twenty-three wretched figures, almost in the pangs of death, were extricated from a pestilential mass of dead bodies. It is uncertain whether the Nawáb was really an active accomplice in this wholesale murder; but in his anxiety to discover the treasures which he supposed the English had concealed, he took no pains to prevent it, and he evidently felt no subsequent remorse about it. He was morally responsible for it, and a terrible vengeance was justly inflicted on him.

PART VI.—FROM THE BLACK HOLE TRAGEDY TO THE DEATH OF SIRAJ-UD-DAULAH. A.D. 1756—1757.

§ 39. The Retribution. § 40. A hollow peace. § 41. Chándernagar taken by the English. § 42. The plot against Síráj-ud-daulah. § 43. Umáchand. § 44. Preparations for the Fight. § 45. The Battle of Plassey. § 46. Mirjáfar as Nawáb. § 47. The settlement. § 48. State of India in 1757.

§ 39. The news of these disasters in Bengal soon arrived in Madras, and filled the settlement with consternation. But Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson were now at Madras, where they had arrived in triumph after the capture of Gheriah. They were soon ready to sail to avenge the massacre in Bengal, with 900 English troops and 1,500 Sepoys, all full of enthusiasm for the cause and of confidence in their leaders. Various delays however occurred; and they did not arrive in the river Hugli till December 1756. And now commenced in earnest the work of retribution; Budge-budge was taken, Calcutta occupied, and the town of Hugli stormed. At Budge-budge Warren Hastings (afterwards the great Governor-

General) fought as a volunteer, and here he met Clive for the first time; Hugli was stormed by a young Captain named Eyre Coote, afterwards the conqueror of Lally and of Haidar. Such was the band of heroes who, with their little army, decided the fate of India.

§ 40. The tyrant Nawáb knew something of the wars in the Carnatic, and had a lively dread of the defender of Arcot and the conqueror of Gheriah; hence after the recapture of Calcutta by Clive on January 2, 1757, he made pressing overtures for peace, offering to reinstate the English in their former position. The honest old Admiral Watson disapproved of any accommodation with the author of the Black Hole massacre, saying that the Nawáb should be "well thrashed;" but Clive from political motives agreed to sign the treaty, February 9, 1757.

§ 41. Clive now seized the opportunity to humble the French in Bengal. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Nawáb, who aided the French with men and money, he attacked Chandernagar; and with the aid of Admiral Watson and the fleet, he captured the town in May 1757.

§ 42. The Nawáb, filled with distrust and fear of the English, was intriguing with the Frenchman Bussy, who was now at Katak, (Cuttack), which he had lately obtained for the French; the English had learnt their power, and remembered the Black Hole; so it was obvious that the peace could not last long. Meanwhile, the Hindú subjects of the Nawáb had been goaded to desperation by his frantic excesses; and a powerful conspiracy was set on foot against him, headed by Rájá Ráidurlabh, his treasurer, and Jagat Seth, the richest banker in India—joined by Mírjáfar, the Commander-in-Chief, and many discontented Muhammadans. The English, represented by Mr. Watt, the resident at Múrshídábád, entered into the conspiracy with alacrity; and it was felt by Clive, and indeed by all the Council at Calcutta, that Siráj-ud-daulah must be crushed if the English settlement wished for peace and security. The conspirators agreed that Mírjáfar should be set up as Nawáb in the place of the tyrant; and that the English should receive from the gratitude of Mírjáfar ample compensation for all their losses, and rich rewards for their assistance.

§ 43. Umáchand, a crafty Bengáli, was the agent employed to transact business between the English and the Nawáb; and he was an active helper in the plot. But at the last moment he threatened to turn traitor and disclose all to the Nawáb unless he were guaranteed a payment of thirty lakhs (£300,000). Clive and the other conspirators were in despair; and at last they condescended to cheat Umáchand, in order to escape from their present difficulty. Two copies of the treaty between the English and Mírjáfar were made out; one on white paper was the real treaty, in which, no mention was made of Umáchand's claims; the other, on red paper, a mere fictitious treaty, in which Umáchand was guaranteed all the money he demanded, was shown to the faithless Bengáli. This piece of deception has always been a stain on Clive's character; Admiral Watson (who had already shown himself to be an honest English gentleman in objecting to a temporizing policy with the Nawáb) refused to sign the false treaty—so his signature was forged by the others.

§ 44. Clive now wrote in peremptory terms to the Nawáb demanding full redress of all grievances, and announcing his approach with an army to enforce his claims; and immediately afterwards set out from Chandernagar, with 650 European infantry, 150 gunners, 2,100 sepoys, a few Portuguese, and 10 guns. The Nawáb's army consisted of 50,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, and an immense train of artillery. As Clive approached the Nawáb's encampment near Kasimbazár, Mírjáfar appears to have lost courage; for he ceased to communicate directly with the English, whilst it was known that he had taken solemn oaths to his master that he would be faithful to him. Under these alarming circumstances, Clive called together his officers in a Council of War, to decide whether they should fight against such enormous odds, or should wait for a better opportunity. The majority of thirteen, including Clive himself, voted for the latter course; only seven, at the head of whom was Eyre Coote, voted for immediate fight.

§ 45. After dismissing the Council, Clive took a solitary walk in an adjoining grove; and after an hour's solemn meditation, he came to the conclusion that Coote was right, and that the attack ought to be made at once. Accordingly, early next morning, he

crossed the river with his little band, and came upon the Nawáb's army about daybreak in the fields and groves of PLASSEY. During the early part of the day the English remained almost entirely on the defensive; contenting themselves with repelling the charges of the enemy's cavalry, and keeping up a desultory cannonade. At length, however, some of the Nawáb's chief officers having fallen, the troops of Mírjáfar (who had hitherto remained undecided) were seen to separate themselves somewhat frem the rest of the Nawáb's army; Clive now gave the order for a general charge, and carried all before him. Siráj-ud-daulah mounted a swift camel; and escorted by 2,000 of his best cavalry, fled to Múrshídábád. The great battle of Plassey, which virtually transferred the sovereignty of Bengal (and ultimately of India) to the English, was fought on June 23, 1757; the victors only losing 22 killed and 50 wounded.

§ 46. Mírjáfar, now that the English were successful, openly joined Clive; who did not condescend to notice his vacillation, but saluted him Nawáb of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Siráj-ud-daulah fled in disguise from Múrshídábád, and the victors at once occupied that city. The fugitive was soon betrayed by a Hindú whose ears he had formerly cut off. He was seized and brought before the new Nawáb. Mírjáfar wished, or pretended to wish, to spare him; but his son Míran caused him to be put to death.

§ 47. And now came the settlement of the engagements of the treaty. Vast sums were paid to the Company, to the British merchants, and to the Native and Armenian merchants of Calcutta as indemnity for their losses in the sack of the city. The army and the navy with their leaders, including Clive, Watson and the members of Council, all shared in the spoil. Umáchand expected, too, to get his thirty lakhs, but he was soon undeceived. He was at first stunned by the blow; but he seems to have recovered, for he was afterwards recommended by Clive as "a person capable of rendering great service s, and therefore not wholly to be discarded."

§ 48. At this great epoch, June 1757, it will be well for the student to survey the state of India. Alamgír II. was nominally Emperor of Delhi; and Gházi-ud-dín II. was his Vazír and the real ruler [*see* Chap. III., § 146]. Ahmad Sháh Abdáli made his fourth

invasion of Hindústán this year, and Delhi was sacked by him in September 1757 [*see* Chap. III., § 147]. The Mahrattas were intriguing with Salábat Jang and his brother Nizám Alí in the Deccan. Bussy was in the Northern Circars, and was recalled by Lally to Pondicherry in 1758 [*see* § 30]. Báláji Báji Ráo was Peshwá [*see* Chap. V., § 33].

PART VII.—CLIVE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION. A.D. 1757—1760.

§ 49. Invasion of Bihár by Sháh Alam II. § 50. The First Battle of Patna. § 51. Humiliation of the French and the Dutch. § 52. Clive's return to England.

§ 49. Clive was now virtually ruler of Bengal, Mírjáfar being a mere tool in his hands. He was made governor of the Company's settlements, and remained at the head of affairs till 1760. In 1759 the new Nawáb was terribly frightened by an invasion of Alí Gauher, now called the Emperor Sháh Alam II. Alí Gauhar had fled from Delhi whilst his father Alamgír II. was under the power of Gházi-ud-dín; and inasmuch as Alamgír had made him titular Súbahdár of the eastern provinces, he crossed the Karmanása (between Oudh and Bihár) to obtain possession of his rights, at the very time that his father was murdered by Gházi-ud-dín. He did not receive the news of this murder for a whole month; he then assumed the title of Emperor, and appointed the Nawáb of Oudh his Vazír. The Governor of Bihár, a Hindú named Rám Náráyan, was defeated by the imperial troops, and shut himself up in Patna.

§ 50. Clive promised Mírjáfar and Rám Náráyan, that he would help them; and immediately sent off Colonel Calliaud with some troops, who soon defeated the forces of the Emperor and the Nawáb of Oudh, in the (first) battle of Patna, 1760. The Emperor now wrote to Clive asking for his help; and the latter at once sent him some money on condition that he left the province of Bihár without delay. This Sháh Alam consented to do; and Mírjáfar, in gratitude for his deliverance, presented Clive with the revenues due to him from the Company, as a *jágír*.

§ 51. The Northern Circars were still held by the French, though Bussy had been recalled to Pondicherry [*see* § 30]. In 1759 Clive despatched an expedition under Colonel Forde, to drive them out. This Colonel Forde effected; but only retained Masulipatam for the English. About the same time it was discovered that the Dutch at Chinsurah were intriguing with the faithless Mírjáfar, to help him to rid himself of his powerful English masters. Clive immediately attacked the Dutch by sea and land, besieged them in Chinsurah, and compelled them to submit to the most humiliating terms.

§ 52. Clive now sailed for England, 1760; and did not return from this second absence until 1765. He was received with the greatest honour by the King, by the great prime minister Pitt, and by the whole nation; and was raised to an Irish peerage as Lord Clive.

PART VIII.—THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF VANSITTART AND SPENCER. A.D. 1761—1765.

§ 53. Vansittart's Administration. § 54. Deposition of Mírjáfar. § 55. Mír Kásim as Nawáb. § 56. The Second Battle of Patna. § 57. Quarrel between the Nawáb and the Calcutta Council. § 58. War with Mír Kásim. § 59. Massacre of Patna. § 60. Flight of Mír Kásim. § 61. First Sepoy Mutiny. § 62. The Battle of Baxar. § 63. Humiliation of the Nawáb of Oudh. § 64. Death of Mírjáfar. § 65. Clive a third time in India.

§ 53. Mr. Vansittart, an utterly incompetent man, succeeded the great Clive as Governor in Bengal. The period is a most eventful one in Indian history; for the French power in the Carnatic was completely broken by Coote, about the same time that the battle of Pánipat gave the Mahrattas a blow from which they never fully recovered.

§ 54. The Nawáb was hopelessly in arrear in the payments which he was pledged to make to his English protectors; and was evidently actuated by no very friendly feelings towards them. He was madly extravagant in his expenditure; and since the death of his son Míran, who had been killed by lightning in the Patna campaign, his affairs had got into worse and worse confusion. At length he

sent his son-in-law Mír Kásim to Calcutta, to arrange matters with Mr. Vansittart and the Council; the latter were struck with Mír Kásim's ability, and resolved to dethrone the Nawáb and put his son-in-law in his place. The plan was carried out. Mírjáfar was induced to resign, and to take up his residence in Calcutta; Mír and Kásim, as the price of his elevation, ceded to the British the three districts of Midnapur, Burdwán, and Chittagong. This was in 1760.

§ 55. Mír Kásim began with great energy to carry out reforms. He reduced expenditure and paid off his English friends; and, disgusted with his position, resolved to shake off their yoke. He removed his capital to Monghir, and there quietly gathered together and disciplined his army. This he did with surprising judgment and skill. His conduct on the whole was vigorous and just; but he was cruel in his treatment of Rám Náráyan, the Governor of Patna, whom he despoiled. One of the worst features in the administration of Mr. Vansittart, who was continually quarrelling with his Council, was his failure to protect Rám Náráyan.

§ 56. About this time Sháh Alam II., who dared not return to his capital [*see* Chap. III., § 154], was hovering about Bihár with a lawless host. Colonel Carnac attacked and dispersed them in the second battle of Patna; and Law, the Frenchman, was taken prisoner with his band, and to the surprise of the natives treated with great courtesy. The Emperor himself was persuaded by Carnac to join him, and accompany him to Patna; where Mír Kásim was induced to pay him homage, and was in consequence formally invested with the Súbahdárship of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa.

§ 57. A quarrel between the Nawáb and the Calcutta Council soon arose. The cause was the immunity from the payment of transit duties claimed by the servants of the Company. This freedom had been formerly granted by Imperial Farmán to the Company itself. It was now grossly abused. All the servants of the Company then traded largely on their own private account; and they claimed freedom from the payment of all inland duties for themselves, their servants and dependents. Every native in fact, hoisting the English flag, could evade the payment of all duties. The Nawáb was defrauded of his

revenues. His servants were insulted and the trade of the country was thrown into confusion. After attempts at a compromise, the Nawáb in desperation resolved to put his subjects and the English upon an equal footing, by abolishing all transit dues throughout his dominions.

§ 58. War ensued. Some English boats were stopped and examined by the Nawáb's officers at Patna. Mr. Ellis, the resident, rashly began hostilities and seized the city of Patna; but his European soldiers got drunk and the Native Commandant recaptured the city. Mr. Ellis and the other Englishmen were taken prisoners. The Nawáb even ordered every Englishman in his dominions to be seized. The Calcutta Council was resolved to dethrone Mír Kásim and reinstate Mírjáfar. A severe struggle ensued; and at Gheriah a battle was fought, which lasted for four hours, and in which the Nawab's well-trained and disciplined troops showed most determined bravery, and were with difficulty overcome. This was in August, 1763. Monghir was soon after taken; and the Nawáb had only Patna remaining in his power.

§ 59. Hitherto there had been little to blame in the conduct of Mír Kásim, which had been spirited, though his cause was a hopeless one. But the MASSACRE OF PATNA, 1763, the account of which we must now give, marks him as a man to be branded with perpetual infamy. On the approach of the English, he became desperate; he cast Rám Náráyan into the river with weights around his neck; and caused the Seths, the great bankers who were friends of the English, to be flung from one of the bastions into the river. He then declared his intention of murdering all his English prisoners, the moment their friends advanced to the attack of the city. The officer in command of the English forces sent a letter to the prisoners, asking them if they could suggest any means of releasing them. Their reply was a magnanimous one:—"There is no hope of escape; never mind us; do not delay the advance of the army one hour." The army moved on to the attack, and the ferocious Nawáb fulfilled his threat. He ordered his officers to kill all the Europeans in the prison; but they nobly replied, "No! turn them out, and we will fight with them, but not massacre them." But an executioner was found. A German, who had been

a serjeant in the French service, and now held a commission in the Nawáb's army under the name of *Sumru* or Sombre, volunteered to do the bloody deed. He led a file of soldiers to the house, fired on the unarmed men through the windows; and soon forty-eight English gentlemen (Mr. Ellis among them) and 100 soldiers, were lying in their blood on the floor.

§ 60. The English troops advanced, and took Patna after a vigorous resistance (November 1763); and Mír Kásim fled to Shujá-ud-daulah, Nawáb of Oudh, with whom was Sháh Alam, the Emperor of Delhi. The three now advanced on Patna, but were repulsed by the English army; and they then took up their position at Baxar on the Son.

§ 61. And now took place the *first* Sepoy mutiny in the Bengal army. Major Munro acted with firmness. A whole battalion attempted to desert to the enemy. They were brought back, and twenty were blown away from guns. This firmness and promptitude at once crushed the mutiny.

§ 62. In October 1764, Munro led his troops against the Nawáb Vazír, who was still encamped at BAXAR with an army of 50,000 men. The latter was routed, and 160 pieces of cannon taken. The consequences of this victory were very great. The Nawáb of Oudh, long master of the empire, was humbled; and it thus made the English supreme in Hindústán. The emperor himself came to the British camp, and opened a negociation with the Council at Calcutta for his restoration to the throne. It was reserved for Clive to reap the full fruits of this victory [*see* § 67].

§ 63. The Nawáb of Oudh, Shujá-ud-daulah, retreated towards Delhi, and obtained assistance from the Mahrattas under Malhár Ráo Holkár and Gházi-ud-dín. But Sir R. Fletcher took Allahábád; and Carnac advancing to Kálpi, dispersed the Nawáb's army, who was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of his conquerors. The great central plain of India was now completely in the power of England.

§ 64. The Calcutta Council, during the five years' absence of Clive, had fallen into a state of utter corruption under Vansittart and Spencer; and thought of nothing but enriching themselves. Mírjáfar died in January 1765, partly of vexation at their harassing

demands. His son, a youth of twenty years of age, named Nâzim-ud-daulah, was put on the throne; the Council received large sums from him, and had the virtual control of the country.

§ 65. The Directors of the East India Company had at first hesitated about sending out Clive again; as he declined to go unless full powers, independent of the Council, were entrusted to him. But at length they perceived the importance of the crisis, and the impossibility of proper administration without a man of Clive's energy and resolution; so he was at last sent out, May 1765.

PART IX.—CLIVE'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION. A.D. 1765—1767.

§ 66. Clive's Reforms. § 67. Grant of the Díwání to the English by the Mughul. § 68. The Question of *Double Batta*. § 69. Trading put down. § 70. Final Retirement of Clive.

§ 66. Clive's first measure was to enforce the orders of the Directors prohibiting the acceptance of presents by their servants. He made all sign covenants binding themselves to obey this rule.

§ 67. Clive then proceeded to the English army at Allahábád, where the Emperor Sháh Alam and Shujá-ud-daulah, the Nawáb of Oudh, were suppliants in the camp of General Carnac. The result of his negociations was that Oudh was restored to Shujá on condition of his being a faithful ally of England; the districts of Korah and Allahábád were given to the emperor; and the latter conferred on the English the *Díwání* (*i.e.*, the right of collecting the revenue—really involving the whole sovereignty) of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa, in return for a yearly payment of 26 lakhs. Though the English had long virtually possessed all the power thus given to them, the Imperial grant of the *Díwání* was valuable, as constituting them the legal (as well as the actual) sovereigns of the country. This happened on the 12th of August 1765. The Nawáb of Bengal was soon compelled to retire on a large pension.

§ 68. The army had been accustomed to what was called *double batta* when on service. This was nominally an allowance of subsistence-money; but the amount was unreasonably great. Clive was instructed to stop this anomalous system. He was met by a combination of the European officers; which, in fact, was a mutiny. Two hundred officers agreed to resign in a single day; and as the

Mahrattas were advancing, they thought themselves necessary to the State. Clive accepted each resignation, and put the ex-officer in immediate arrest; while he sent to Madras for every available man. Clive's firmness subdued the mutiny in a fortnight.

§ 69. Clive's next contest was with all the services of the Company; the members of which universally were engaged in trade, which their position made especially lucrative, and which injured their character, while it prevented them from doing their duty as public servants. They were now absolutely forbidden to engage in any species of trade, and a compensation was granted.

§ 70. Clive left India for the last time in 1767, a poorer man than he was when he returned to it in 1765. He was received in England with great honour; but his reforms had raised up for him a host of enemies. All whom he had punished, or whose corrupt schemes he had thwarted, leagued against him. The Court of Directors did not support him as it ought to have done; but a resolution was passed, "that he had rendered meritorious services to his country." He died in 1774, ten years after Dupleix.

PART X.—VERELST, CARTIER, AND HASTINGS SUCCESSIVE GOVERNORS OF BENGAL. A.D. 1767—1774.

§ 71. The double Government. § 72. Warren Hastings. § 73. The Treaty of Benares, 1773. § 74. The Rohilla War. § 75. The Regulating Act.

§ 71. From 1767 to 1772, Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier were Governors of Bengal. During this period, most of the interest of the history of India is connected with the affairs of the Mahrattas [*see* Chap. V., Part IV.], and those of Mysor [*see* below, § 76]. From the grant of the *Díwání* in 1765, to the accession of Warren Hastings in 1772, Bengal was under what was called a "double government," *i.e.*, the actual administration of the country was in the hands of the Nawáb's servants, whilst the European officials vied with them in making haste to become rich by every species of corruption. The Governor in vain strove to stem the torrent. The Muhammadan Government had been destroyed; and no vigorous English rule had been substituted. The constitution of the Home Government of India was equally vicious. The Directors were appointed but for one year, and their chief anxiety was to make the

most of their patronage. It was a period of unblushing jobbery and corruption.

§ 72. The Directors resolved in 1772 to abolish the double government, and to assume the direct management, through their own servants, of the revenue of Bengal. Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal to carry out this sweeping measure. From 1772 to 1785 the history of British India is the history of this great man. Warren Hastings was born in 1732, and had served in Bengal in high and important offices from 1750 to 1764, when he went to England. There he was summoned to give evidence before the House of Commons; and his evidence displayed such vigour and breath of view, that his reputation was made at once, and he was appointed second in Council at Madras in 1768. In 1772 he was sent as President or Governor to Calcutta which became the seat of Government instead of Múrshídábád. Arrangements for the constitution of new Courts of civil and criminal justice were made by Hastings, and a code drawn up by him within six months.

§ 73. In 1771 the Mahrattas had overrun Rohilkhand [Chap. V., § 53.]; and the Rohillas had offered the Nawáb Vazir of Oudh, according to his account, a sum of forty lakhs for his protection against them [*see* Chap. III., § 135]. In 1773 the Mahrattas re-crossed the Ganges on their way home; the Nawab now claimed the forty lakhs, whilst the Rohillas affirmed that no such promise had been made. The Nawáb appealed to Hastings, who believed his statement, and accordingly met the Nawáb at Benares, and there signed the treaty of Benares. By this it was agreed that the forty lakhs should be made over to the English Government on condition that the Nawáb should be assisted in driving out the Rohillas.

§ 74. Colonel Champion was sent into Rohilkhand at the head of a small English force; and utterly defeated the Rohilla army under Háfiz Rahmat, who was slain with 2,000 of his followers. The Nawáb and his troops waited to see what would be the issue of the battle, and then rushed forward to participate in the spoil. The result of this Rohilla war was that the Rohillas gave up their conquests in Rohilkhand, which came into the hands of the Nawáb Vazír of Oudh.

§ 75. The REGULATING ACT, under which Warren Hastings became the first GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF BRITISH INDIA, was passed in 1773; but the new Members of Council, who by the Act were associated in the Government, did not arrive in Calcutta till October 19, 1774—and this is consequently the date of the commencement of the new form of Government.

PART XI.—AFFAIRS IN MADRAS AND MYSOR, 1761—1769. THE FIRST MYSOR WAR, 1766—1769.

§ 76. The Rájás of Mysor. § 77. Rise of Haidar. § 78. Takes Bednor, and is defeated by the Mahrattas. § 79. Invasion of Malabar. § 80. Confederacy against Haidar. § 81. Tippú. § 82. English Peace with the Nizám. § 83. The Peace of Madras.

§ 76. From the fall of the kingdom of Bíjánagar in 1565, a dynasty of Hindú Rájás maintained its independence in Mysor until 1761, notwithstanding various attacks from the Mahrattas, the Nizáms of the Deccan, and the Nawábs of the Carnatic; but in 1761 one of the Rájá's officers, named HAIDAR, ousted the imbecile Rájá, together with his minister Nandiráj, and established a strong military despotism.

§ 77. Haidar was the son of a brave cavalry officer, and the grandson of a religious mendicant from the Panjáb. He had obtained from the Rájá the command of the district of Dindigal, with a small force; and he had increased the number of his troops and the amount of his riches, in the course of a predatory life much like that at first led by Sivaji.

§ 78. Soon after his usurpation of the Mysor Ráj, he took and plundered Bednor, whence he obtained immense treasures, which aided him materially in his future operations. In 1765 however he experienced a reverse of fortune; for Mádu Ráo [Chap. V., § 45] invaded the country with a strong Mahratta force, defeated Haidar, and compelled him to make large cessions of territory and to pay 32 lakhs.

§ 79. Haidar invaded Malabar in 1766; and though the Zamorin of Calicat came out and submitted to him, he took that city by surprise and sacked it—the Zamorin burning himself in his palace to avoid further indignities.

§ 80. A triple confederacy against Haidar was now formed by the Mahrattas under Mádu Ráo, the Nizám, and the English Government of Madras. Mádu Ráo crossed the Krishna, and began to plunder, but was bribed by Haidar to return. The Nizám also was induced, not only to leave the confederacy, but also to join in an attack on the English. Colonel Smith, who was in command of the English forces, now found himself in great danger; for he had only 7,000 men and 16 guns to oppose 70,000 men and 100 guns of Haidar and the Nizám. He repulsed them however at CHANGAMA, and soon after routed them at TRINOMALI, both places being in South Arcot; the enemy lost 4,000 men and 64 guns, A.D. 1767.

§ 81. Haidar's son Tippú, afterwards so famous, made his first appearance in this campaign; at the head of 5,000 cavalry he plundered the country up to the gates of Madras.

§ 82. The dominions of the Nizám were at this time invaded by a force from Bengal under Colonel Peach; and the Nizám in 1768 gladly signed a treaty with the English. In the same year some troops from Bombay effected a diversion on the west side of Haidar's dominions; these were at first successful, and took Mangalor and Honawar, but were subsequently driven out with disgrace by Haidar.

§ 83. This diversion enabled Colonel Smith to carry on the war with great success on the other side, in the Baramahál and the Carnatic; and Haidar now offered large concessions for peace. The Madras Government, however, was inordinately elated by its successes, and imposed such exorbitant terms that the war continued. Colonel Smith was for a time superseded by Colonel Wood, who lost all the advantages the former had gained; and Smith was reinstated too late to turn the fortune of the war. At length Haidar, by an extraordinarily rapid movement at the head of a body of cavalry, avoided Smith's army, and appeared within a few miles of Madras. The terrified Council now submitted to a peace which left both parties in the same condition as at the beginning of the war. This PEACE OF MADRAS, discreditable to the Madras Government, terminated the first Mysor War, which had lasted from 1766 to 1769.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF BRITISH INDIA. FROM A.D. 1774 TO A.D. 1858.

PART I.—WARREN HASTINGS. A.D. 1774—1785.

§ 1. Necessity for Reform. § 2. The Regulating Act. § 3. The new Council. § 4. Affairs of Oudh. § 5. The Begams. § 6. Nundakumár. § 7. Hastings' policy with the Mahrattas, and in the Carnatic. § 8. The Supreme Court. § 9. Financial difficulties. § 10. The Rájá of Benares. § 11. The Begams of Oudh. § 12. Retirement of Hastings. § 13. His Trial. § 14. Indian Affairs in Parliament. § 15. Fox's India Bill. § 16. Pitt's India Bill. § 17. Sir John Macpherson, Acting Governor-General.

§ 1. Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras had hitherto been independent of one another; but on the appointment of a Governor-General of Bengal at Calcutta, the other two Presidencies became subordinate. The conquests of Clive and the immense acquisitions of territory and influence, though glorious, had not been pecuniarily profitable to the Directors; and the latter were thoroughly discontented. We have seen too, in Chap. VII., § 71, that the administration was in a deplorably corrupt state; it was represented in England that much oppression had been allowed in India, and Parliament was induced to take up the matter. Lord North was Prime Minister; and the English Government would probably have taken the administration of India into its own hands, had it not been for the jealousy of the nation, who were unwilling to see all the Indian patronage in the power of the Ministers of the Crown.

§ 2. Consequently the Charter of the Company was again renewed; that is, the Company was still allowed to govern British India. But important alterations were made in the constitution

of the Company by the REGULATING ACT (passed in 1773, came into operation in 1774); of which the most important provisions were:—

(1). That the Governor of Bengal should henceforth be the Governor-General; and *with his Council*, should be supreme over all the British possessions in India.

(2). That a Supreme Court of Judicature should be established in Calcutta, consisting of a Chief Justice and three other Judges.

§ 3. Warren Hastings accordingly became Governor-General, with his Council of four, in October 1774. The provision of the Regulating Act, by which the members of the Governor-General's Council were invested with equal power in Council with himself, soon proved to be destructive of all good government. The first members of Council were Mr. Francis (afterwards Sir Philip Francis), Colonel Monson, General Clavering, and Mr. Barwell. Francis soon displayed the most bitter hostility against Hastings and all his measures; and was supported by Monson and Clavering, thus forming a majority in the Council. Barwell, who had long served in India, supported Hastings; but the latter was unable successfully to contend against the factious opposition of the other three, until the death of Monson in 1776.

§ 4. In opposition to the wishes of Hastings, the Nawáb Vazír of Oudh was compelled to cede the province of Benares to the English; and the zamíndár of Benares was declared a feudatory Rájá, paying an annual tribute to the Company of twenty-two and a half lakhs a year.

§ 5. The Nawáb Vazír Shujá-ud-daulah, died in 1775. His widow and mother, the Begams, claimed by virtue of a supposed will of the late Nawáb the whole of the treasure, two millions of rupees, which was heaped up in the vaults of the zanána. The acknowledgment of this claim Mr. Hastings opposed, but in vain. The young Nawáb was thus left with no money, an army to support, and a heavy debt to the English Government.

§ 6. The people now generally regarded the power and authority of Hastings as extinct; and many accusations were brought against him by persons who wished to please the factious majority

in the Council. Of these charges the most serious were brought forward by Nandakumár, a man infamous for his treachery and perfidy; Francis and his colleagues, however, took him under their protection and encouraged him in his charges against the Governor-General. Suddenly Nandakumár was arrested, at the suit of an eminent native merchant, for forgery; he was tried by Sir Elijah Impey, in the Supreme Court, was found guilty by a jury, and hanged—hanging was at that time the usual punishment for forgery. This execution of a Bráhman created a great sensation, and Hastings has often been accused of having procured it unjustly to screen himself; but there seems no reason to doubt that Nandakumár was justly condemned to death. Good proof that Hastings was in no way concerned with the conviction and execution, is to be found in the fact that the members of Council might have interfered to refer the matter to England; but they refused to do so.

§ 7. The connection of Hastings with Mahratta politics must be studied in Chap. V., §§ 61—69; the events most nearly concerned the Bombay Presidency. The vigorous conduct of Hastings in aiding the Madras Government against Haidar must be treated in a separate section [*see* below, § 18].

§ 8. The Judges of the Supreme Court established in Calcutta, in striving to "protect natives from oppression and give India the benefits of English law," committed many great mistakes. They interfered between the zamíndárs and their ráyats. Their attorneys stirred up strife everywhere. Hastings interfered to protect the landholders from this vexatious interference, and Parliament was petitioned for a change of system; and meanwhile a remedy was discovered. There was a Court of Appeal in Calcutta called the *Sadar Diwani Adalat*. In this the Governor-General himself and his Council were appointed to preside. This they could not do; and Hastings offered the appointment of Chief Judge of this Court to Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. This reconciled all parties, and enabled Impey to return his attention to the subject of the administration of justice according to such forms as might suit the great simplicity of native habits. This, though disallowed by the Court Directors at the time, is the

system now restored by the amalgamation in each presidency of the Supreme Court with the Company's old Court of Appeal.

§ 9. Upon Hastings devolved the necessity of providing the money to carry on the various wars which in 1780 were raging in India [*see* below, § 18; and Chap. V., § 68]. Seldom has a heavier burden rested on the shoulders of one resolute man. Mysor, the French, the Dutch, and the Mahrattas were in the field against the English at once. To provide for the expenses of these wars was the duty of Hastings. He has incurred much odium by the means, now to be described, he took to fulfil this duty.

§ 10. He demanded from Chait Singh [§ 4], whose zamíndári of Benares, transferred to the English in 1775, was now held by him as a feudatory or dependent noble, an additional tribute in men and money, in aid of his benefactors and superiors, the English Government. The Rájá or zamíndár evaded compliance with the demand; and Hastings proceeded to Benares chiefly for the purpose of enforcing it. Irritated by the ingratitude of the Rájá, Hastings placed him in arrest. The populace rose and massacred the sepoys who carried out the order, and surrounded the place where Hastings was. The Rájá escaped from the city. Hastings was in extreme peril, yet he lost none of his characteristic coolness and self-possession. Eventually he retired to Chanár; troops were sent in from all quarters, the Rájá's army of 20,000 men was defeated, and Bíjgarh, his hiding-place, was taken. The troops, however, seized and divided the treasure found in the fortress. Hastings was cruelly disappointed: he had failed to supply the wants of the exhausted treasury, and Chait Singh escaped to Gwáliár, where he lived for 29 years. His nephew was placed on the throne.

§ 11. More doubtful is the treatment of the Begams of Oudh, A.D. 1781 [§ 5]. The Nawáb Vazír of Oudh represented his inability to pay his dues to the Company, and asked permission to seize the treasures which the Begams had appropriated. Charges were made against these ladies of abetting Chait Singh, and supplying him with men and money. The Begams were compelled to give up 76 lakhs of rupees, which were paid over to the Company.

§ 12. The Court of Directors condemned these measures, and Hastings signified his intention of retiring. He addressed letters to all the chiefs and princes of India, taking leave of them; and resigned with dignity a trust which he had held first as Governor of Bengal, afterwards as Governor-General, for 13 years. He left India in February 1785.

§ 13. In England, Hastings was received with favour by the King, the Ministry, and the Directors. But Pitt had a prejudice against him, though he extolled and even vindicated him. Francis his rancorous foe, was in Parliament. The renowned orator Burke and the Whig party in general combined against him, and it was resolved to impeach him for his conduct in India. His trial before the House of Lords began on the 13th February 1788; and was protracted till the 23rd April 1795, when he was completely and honourably acquitted. The trial cost him 100,000*l*. Though thus reduced to comparative poverty, he lived peaceably at Daylesford till his death in 1819. Once only did he again appear in public and then he was called to give, in 1813, evidence before the House of Commons regarding Indian affairs. On that occasion the whole assembly stood up to do him honour.

§ 14. From 1780 to 1784, the affairs of the East India Company occupied a great deal of the attention of Parliament. Lord North, Mr. Burke, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Pitt (the younger) were the great statesmen whose influence was most felt in Indian affairs. But the interest of the student will dwell chiefly upon what are called *Fox's* and *Pitt's India Bills.*

§ 15. Fox's Bill aimed at the transfer of British India to the direct government of the Crown. Seven Commissioners appointed by Parliament were to manage the government, and nine assistant-directors the trade. The Bill passed the Commons; but was rejected by the Lords.

§ 16. William Pitt the younger (born 1759; died 1806), now succeeded as Prime Minister. He immediately introduced his India Bill. Its chiefs provisions were these:—

(1). The Court of Directors, still chosen by the proprietors of India Stock, were to govern as before, in appearance; while thres

of their number, forming a secret committee, were to be the real actors.

(2). In reality the power was transferred to a "Board of Control," consisting of six pri vy councillors, whose decisions were final. The President of the Board of Control was the Minister who was responsible for Indian affairs.

(3). The Gover nor-General was not to be allowed to enter upon any war, except in self-defence; or could he make any treaty guaranteeing the dominions of any native prince.

(4). The Governor-General's Council was reduced to three, of whom one was to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in India, and the other two Bengal Civilians. Similar Councils were established at Madras and Bombay.

For 16 years, Mr. Dundas, *the first President of the Board of Control*, filled that position. Parliament, after this, rarely interfered, and for many years showed little interest in Indian affairs.

§ 17. Sir John Macpherson, senior member of Council, acted as Governor-General for twenty months, from February 1785 to September 1786. The offer of the appointment was made to Lord Macartney, who judiciously demanded additional powers to add weight to an office of so much responsibility. Mr. Dundas was offended, and Lord Cornwallis was immediately appointed Governor-General of India.

PART II.—AFFAIRS IN MADRAS AND MYSOR, 1769—1786.
THE SECOND MYSOR WAR, 1780—1784.

§ 18. Haidar defeated by the Mahrattas. § 19. His recovery of power. § 20. Capture of Mahé by the English. § 21. Triple confederacy against the English. § 22. Haidar invades the Carnatic. § 23. Colonel Baillie captured. § 24. Sir Eyre Coote brings reinforcements from Bengal. § 25. Battle of Porto Novo. § 26. Overland march of an army from Calcutta. § 27. Second Battle of Pollilor. § 28. Battle of Solingarh. § 29. War between the English and the Dutch. § 30. Retirement of Coote. § 31. Varying fortune of Haidar. § 32. He is aided by the French. § 33. Death of Haidar. § 34. Tippú Sultán. § 35. Campaign in Malabar.

§ 36. French reinforcements. § 37. The English invade Mysor. § 38. The treaty of Mangálor.

§ 18. Haidar, elated by the successful conclusion of his first war against the English, thought himself strong enough in 1769 to oppose the Mahrattas, who now poured across the frontiers, under Mádu Ráo and Trimbak Ráo Máma. He was, however, defeated at Cherkúli; he lost all his fortresses, and was soon besieged in Seringapatam. He now asked in vain for the promised aid of the Madras Government; and he never forgave the English for their failure to help him in his hour of need. He was at length compelled to buy off the Mahrattas by the cession of most of his northern dominions, by a large present payment, and the promise of enormous sums in the future [*see* Chap. V., § 52]; this was in 1772.

He often drank to wild excess at this time; and at one time beat his son Tippú with such savage cruelty that the marks were visible for a week, and Tippú in consequence refused to fight in his father's cause.

§ 19. The unsettled state of Mahratta affairs after the death of Mádu Ráo in 1772, and the disputed succession of Raghoba, gave Haidar an opportunity of retrieving all his losses. He first established his communications with the Malabar coast by the conquest of Coorg; where he treated the people with frightful barbarity, paying in person five rupees for the head of every male that was laid at his feet. By 1778 he had recovered all the territory ceded to the Mahrattas, and his northern boundary was the Krishna.

§ 20. In 1778 war broke out between the English and the French; the former immediately seized Pondicherry, and proceeded to march on Mahé, a port surrounded on the land-side by Haidar's Malabar conquests. Haidar was indignant; but the English, notwithstanding this, captured Mahé in 1779. An amiable Danish Missionary named Schwartz was sent to Haidar by the Madras Government; but he effected no reconciliation, though he was received with respect.

§ 21. Meanwhile Haidar was forming a powerful confede against the English, comprising nearly all the Mahratta cl

together with the Nizám. The English power in India has seldom been in greater danger; and was only saved by the incomparable energy and genius of Warren Hastings, ably seconded by Mr. Hornby, the Governor of Bombay [*see* § 9, and Chap. V., § 68].

§ 22. Haidar, though now in his 78th year, made his preparations for war on a grand scale, with extraordinary activity and skill; he had numerous Europeans in his service, and he now got together a force of 90,000 men, one of the finest armies ever mustered in Southern India. On the 20th July, 1780, the mighty armament poured down the Changáma pass, and spread destruction over the fertile plains of the Carnatic. The commandants of the forts were officers of the Nawáb of the Carnatic, Muhammad Alí; most of these now treacherously surrendered to Haidar, and in a few days the latter was at Conjeveram, only fifty miles from Madras.

§ 23. Sir Hector Munro, who had distinguished himself in Bengal, was Commander-in-Chief with 5,000 troops; and Colonel Baillie in command of 2,800 men, was on his way to occupy Gantúr. These bodies of troops should have been united; but Munro allowed Haidar to interpose, and the result was that Baillie's force was cut up at *Pollilor*, their stores, baggage, and equipments taken; and Baillie himself, and about 200 men, were taken prisoners, after gallantly sustaining 13 attacks of the enemy. Munro was only two miles distant, and his appearance on the spot would have converted the disaster into a decisive victory. He now retreated to Madras, and thus ended this memorable campaign of 21 days.

§ 24. A vessel was immediately sent to Calcutta, to bear the tidings to Hastings of the greatest reverse the English arms had ever sustained in India. He hesitated not a moment; but bent all his energies to the one task of saving the Carnatic. In three weeks an army under the veteran Sir Eyre Coote, now Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, was on its way to Madras, with treasure and supplies. Coote reached Madras on the 5th of November; but was not able to take the field till the 17th of January, 1781. Meanwhile Haidar had besieged Arcot; and after six weeks had taken it, through the treachery of its native commandant. Lieutenant Flint, who had been ordered to take command

of Wandewash, defended it in a manner that reminds us of Clive's defence of Arcot.

§ 25. Haidar, hearing that Sir Eyre Coote was marching on Cuddalor, intrenched himself in a strong position near PORTO NOVO. Coote attacked him with great skill; and after a battle which lasted six hours, obtained a decisive victory. Haidar lost 10,000 men. Tippú raised the siege of Wandewash, which the heroic Flint had thus saved.

§ 26. Hastings at Calcutta had experienced some difficulty in sending reinforcements from Bengal to Madras, as the caste rules of many of the sepoys prohibited a sea-voyage. He now determined to send an army by land; the march was one of 700 miles, and was through worse country than even that of the famous march of Goddard to Surat [*see* Chap. V., § 63]. Colonel Pearce started from Calcutta in January, and reached Palikat in July 1781; and in August, Sir Eyre Coote effected a junction with this force.

§ 27. The 27th August was the anniversary (according to the lunar year) of the defeat of Baillie at Pollilor; and on this day on the very same spot Haidar met Coote's combined forces, being encouraged by his astrologers to hope for a like success. He was, however, defeated with severe loss.

§ 28. Coote consummated the successes thus won at Porto Novo and Pollilor, by a great victory at SOLINGARH, near Vellor (September 1781); in which Haidar lost 5,000 men, whilst the loss of the English was only about 100.

§ 29 War had been declared with Holland; consequently Lord Macartney, the new Governor of Madras, now sent a force under Sir Hector Munro against Nágapatam, the chief Dutch colony. It was taken by the aid of the fleet, on November 12th, 1781; in January 1782, Trincomalee in Ceylon was also taken; and all these conquests were finally made over to the English by the peace of Versailles in 1783.

§ 30. The campaign of 1782 between the English and Haidar was carried on with singularly varied fortune. The capture of Cuddalor by Haidar was succeeded by the relief of Wandew by Coote; and the latter event was followed after no long t

by the retirement of Coote, who was compelled to leave the army on account of ill-health. He was long remembered by his sepoys with love and regret. He returned for a short time in 1783, but only to die.

§ 31. Meanwhile Colonel Braithwaite, at the head of some of the troops who had taken Nágapatam from the Dutch, was betrayed by some spies who were in the pay of Haidar; and was overwhelmed by Tippú with an enormous army, on the banks of the Coleroon after a struggle which lasted 26 hours. Tippú's army was chiefly led by French officers, who, after this action, displayed their humanity by stopping the massacre of the British. To counterbalance this disaster, the garrison of Tellicheri, which had been besieged for 18 months, made a sortie in which they captured 1,200 of Haidar's troops with their guns, ammunition, and baggage. This encouraged the people of Coorg and Malabar to rise against Haidar.

§. 32. The indomitable old Mysor chief was beginning to despond, when a powerful French fleet under Admiral Sufferin arrived at Palikat to aid him. The English fleet under Admiral Hughes encountered them; but Sufferin succeeded in landing 2,000 French soldiers and 1,000 Africans at Porto Novo. Several indecisive engagements were fought both by sea and on land, of which the chief was one near Arní, in July 1782.

§ 33. The English expected help from a fleet under Admiral Bickerton, but he only landed some 4,000 troops at Madras and sailed away. Famine raged dreadfully at Madras, and the English cause seemed gloomy, when suddenly news arrived of the death of Haidar. He died on December 7, 1782, at the age of eighty. He was ignorant and cruel; but his military skill, backed by most determined energy and will, had raised him to power.

§ 34. Two clever Bráhman ministers of the Mysor Court, named Púrnía and Krishna Ráo, concealed Haidar's death, in order to prevent the disorders that would have ensued during the absence of Tippú, who was 400 miles distant on the Malabar coast. They quickly sent word to Tippú, who reached the army on the Coromandel side on 2nd January 1783. He found himself in possession of 3 crores of rupees in treasure, besides an immense

amount in jewels and other valuables, and was at the head of an army of 100,000 men.

§ 35. Tippú, however, soon set out again to the Malabar coast, where he imagined the greatest danger to be. There Major Abingdon had reduced Calicat, and Colonel Humberstone and Colonel Macleod entrenched themselves at Ponáni. General Matthews had taken possession of Honawar; five large ships belonging to Tippú had been taken; and now Bednor was given up to Matthews, without a struggle. This intelligence took Tippú to the spot with all his army. Bednor was retaken, and subsequently Mangalor; though both were defended with the utmost gallantry. These sieges cost him half his army.

§ 36. Meanwhile, General Stuart, who had succeeded Sir E. Coote, was perhaps incapable of retrieving the British fortunes in the Carnatic. The veteran Bussy, with 2,300 French troops and 5,000 French sepoys, landed at Cuddalor, April 10, 1783. Stuart undertook the siege of Cuddalor. Sufferin and Hughes fought at sea, with no decisive result. Tidings happily arrived of the peace of Versailles. Bussy immediately ceased all military operations, and recalled the French officers in Tippú's army.

§ 37. An expedition under Colonel Fullarton was now sent into the heart of Mysor. He took Karúr, Dindigal, Pálkkát, and Coimbator, and was on the point of marching for Seringapatam, when Lord Macartney most foolishly sent envoys to propose a peace; and despite all the opposition of Hastings (whose Indian career was drawing to a close), and of others, hurried it on, so that Tippú was able to make it appear that the English were suppliants to him for peace.

§ 38. All the surviving British prisoners, whom Tippú had treated with disgusting and savage cruelty, were released; and it was agreed that all conquests should be mutually restored. Baillie, Matthews, and many others of the bravest prisoners, had already been murdered by their barbarous captor. Thus ended the Second Mysor War in the TREATY OF MANGALOR, 1784. This treaty was a disgrace to the Madras Government; indeed Tippú, on the day on which it was signed, assured his French allies that he was determined to attack the English again as soon as possible.

PART III.—LORD CORNWALLIS. A.D. 1786—1793.

§ 39. Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General. § 40. Summary of events. § 41. Reforms. § 42. Annexation of the Gantúr Sarkar. § 43. Tippú's aggrandisement. § 44. He is attacked by the Mahrattas. § 45. His conquest of Malabar. § 46. He attacks Travancor. § 47 Third Mysor War. § 48. Battle of Arikera. § 49. The Mahrattas come up. § 50. Siege of Seringapatam. § 51. Capitulation of Tippú. § 52. Generosity of Cornwallis. § 53. The Permanent Settlement. § 54. Reform in Civil and Criminal Courts. § 55. The Declaratory Act.

§ 39. Lord Cornwallis, who was thoroughly confided in by both Pitt and Dundas, arrived in Calcutta, in September 1786, and remained until 1793. His administration was firm and vigorous, and greatly consolidated the British Indian Empire; which, founded by Clive and Hastings, was strengthened and reduced to order by Cornwallis.

§ 40. For the important events of this period connected with Mahratta history—the rise of the power of Sindia, and the Mahratta ascendancy in Delhi—the student must consult Chap. V., §§ 73—87. The rest of the history of the rule of Lord Cornwallis is mainly connected with (1) his extensive reforms in the internal administration; (2) the wars against Tippú Sultán.

§ 41. The great energies of Lord Cornwallis were at first directed to the removal of corruption from all branches of the public services. At this time small salaries were given to the Company's servants; and as their opportunities were great, they easily yielded to the temptation of enriching themselves by every species of official depredation. His first real measure of effectual reform was assigning to every officer of Government such a salary as should leave him no shadow of excuse for trading, or attempting to acquire money by corrupt practices. This measure, added to an incomparable firmness and consistency in resisting all jobbery and favouritism, and in punishing all frauds, soon caused the purity of the Indian services to become as conspicuous as their corruption had been notorious.

§ 42. The Gantúr Sarkár had been assigned by the Nizám to the British Government, on the death of Salábat Jang. In 1788, Lord Cornwallis made a peremptory demand for its cession. The Nizám complied at once, but begged for a British contingent to aid

him against Tippú, who had usurped the Bálaghát. Lord Cornwallis promised this aid, stipulating that the British troops should not be employed against any power in alliance with England. Of these powers a list was given *and Tip pú's was not there.* This letter was the occasion, though not the real cause, of Tippú's breach of the treaty of Mangalor.

§ 43. Tippú had been left at liberty, by the foolish treaty of Mangalor, to pursue his schemes, which were actuated partly by an excessive ambition, and partly by hatred of the English. His first two expeditions were into Canara and Coorg, whence he carried away upwards of one hundred thousand persons, whom he forcibly made into Musálmáns, and then distributed them among his garrisons. His next step was to assume the title of "Pádsháh," which properly belonged to the Emperor of Delhi alone; and from that time his name was inserted in the public prayers instead of that of Sháh Alam.

§ 44. Tippú now (1784—1787) had to encounter a great and presing danger. The Mahrattas under the rule of Náná Farnavís and the Nizám combined to crush him, and to share his dominions. The result was that Tippú boldly carried the war into the districts north of the Túmbadra, and brought the confederates to terms. He agreed to pay arrears of tribute, and to restore the captured towns. They abandoned the war, acknowledging him sole ruler to the Túmbadra.

§ 45. Tippú was now beside himself with pride. He made an expedition into the Malabar district, where he offered the Náyars the option of death, or conversion to Islám. He thus converted or expelled the whole population; and destroyed, according to his own account, 8,000 temples. There is no doubt that Tippú even aimed at becoming a kind of prophet in the estimation of the people.

§ 46. Travancor had hitherto escaped the horrors of war. Its Rájá had formed a defensive alliance with the English a few years before. Tippú now found out various grievances, which rendered it necessary for him to punish the Travancor Rájá. Accor[illegible] in December 1789, he made an attack on the Travancor lin[illegible] was repulsed with immense loss, escaping almost alone; his

quin and all his ornaments, seals and rings, having fallen into the hands of the enemy. His rage was terrible, and he vowed not to leave his encampment till he had taken ample revenge. Three months were passed in preparations, carefully concealed from the English; and in April 1790, he began the work in earnest, and was soon inside the wall.

§ 47. Lord Cornwallis now determined to intervene; and in settling the treaty for the cession of Gantúr by the Nizám, it was arranged that the latter should co-operate in the war against Tippú, and share in the territory which might be taken from him. The Mahratta Government were also invited to join the confederacy, and were to share in the spoil. Náná Farnavís consented to this, for his fear and hatred of Tippú overcame even his reluctance to co-operate with the English.

§ 48. Lord Cornwallis now informed Tippú that his conduct in attacking an ally of England had made him an enemy of the British power. He himself came down from Calcutta to take the command of the army, which advanced up the Gháts at once by the Múglí pass, having deceived Tippú by a pretended march to Ambúr. Bangalor capitulated on 21st March, 1791. Tippú now marched to defend his capital; and on 13th May, at ARIKERA, a short distance from Seringapatam, was fought a battle, in which Tippú sustained a complete defeat.

§ 49. Seringapatam would now have been taken; but the British force and the Nizám's contingent were in want of every necessary. Lord Cornwallis was obliged, therefore, to return to Madras. A day after his homeward march had begun, the Mahrattas came up. Their dilatoriness had mainly caused the failure of the campaign. Hari Pant, their general, was intent only on plunder.

§ 50. Lord Cornwallis employed the remainder of the year in clearing the Baramahál and reducing Tippú's fortresses, deemed by the Mysoreans impregnable, but taken with ease by the British troops. In January 1792, his arrangements were complete; and the British army took the field with a splendour and completeness of equipment, which astonished all India. On the 5th of February the siege of Seringapatam began. Tippu had strengthened his

defences to the utmost. They consisted of three lines protected by 300 cannons, the earthworks covered by an impenetrable hedge of thorn. The works were stormed on the night of the 6th, with the loss of 530 killed and wounded. Tippú lost in killed, wounded, and deserters, 20,000 men.

The siege was pressed on, and Tippú, by the advice of his officers, acceded to the terms dictated by Lord Cornwallis. He was to cede half his territories, pay 3 crores of rupees, besides thirty lakhs to the Mahrattas, and to give up two of his sons as hostages. The treaty was nearly broken off, when Tippú found that Coorg was included in the territories to be ceded; but the Governor-General was ready at once to push on the siege, and the Sultán was obliged to yield.

§ 51. The Nizám's troops and the Mahrattas had rendered no assistance, and had even treacherously corresponded with the enemy; but Lord Cornwallis divided the territory and the indemnity-money scrupulously with them. The English territorial gain was (1) the district of Dindigal; (2) the Baramahál; and (3) the district of Malabar, which had been conquered by General Abercrombie. Coorg was restored to its own Rájá.

Thus gloriously ended the Third Mysor War, February 1792.

§ 52. Lord Cornwallis was in the Madras presidency from 1790 to 1792, engaged in the conduct of this war. He was censured in England for the acquisition of territory, which was the result of the war; but the nation in general approved of his conduct, and he was made a marquis. He generously gave up his share of prize-money amounting to 50,000*l*, as did General Medows.

§ 53. Lord Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement (1793) is the chief ground of his fame.

The land had been the principal source of revenue under every dynasty. The collectors of this revenue in Bengal under the Mughul emperors had, by degrees, converted themselves into za-dárs, possessing military and judicial authority. Many of zamíndárs were also the representatives of the old local aristo These persons the British Government did not at first reco but in 1786, the Directors wrote out that all engagements s

as a matter of policy, be made with the zamíndárs. This was to be done for ten years; and the settlement of revenue-payment to be made permanent, if it were found to answer. Lord Cornwallis, by his regulations in 1793, confirmed the zamíndárs in the absolute proprietorship of the soil. They were legally constituted landlords under the British Government; and the cultivators were recognised as their tenants. These last were left too much at the mercy of the zamíndár, and this was the weak point in the whole settlement. Mr. Shore opposed its being made permanent. Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Charles Grant decided that it should.

§ 54. The reform of the Civil and Criminal Courts next occupied his attention. Sir Elijah Impey's rules were developed into a volume of regulations by Sir George Barlow; and the system of Civil Courts and procedure which, with modifications, still exists, was established. The greatest evil of this system was the power it gave to the police of oppressing the people. Natives were excluded from all share in the administration of justice, and from all but the most subordinate offices in the public employ. This was remedied in after-times.

§ 55. Lord Cornwallis left India in October 1793, after a most successful administration. In England, the DECLARATORY ACT had been passed by Mr. Pitt in 1788; by which it was declared that Mr. Pitt's India Bill of 1784 [*see* § 16] was intended to transfer all real power in Indian matters from the East India Company to the Crown.

PART IV.—SIR JOHN SHORE [AFTERWARDS LORD TEIGNMOUTH.] A.D. 1793—1798.

§ 56. Summary of Mr. Shore's administration. § 57. The debts of the Nawáb of the Carnatic. § 58. Oudh Affairs, and the Assassination of Mr. Cherry.

§ 56. Mr. Shore was appointed by Pitt and Dundas to succeed Lord Cornwallis; he was a civilian who had obtained great praise for his able conduct of affairs in the preparations for the Permanent Settlement. He was pledged to the non-intervention policy; and the consequent weakness which characterised his administra-

defences to the utmost. They consisted of three lines protected by 300 cannons, the earthworks covered by an impenetrable hedge of thorn. The works were stormed on the night of the 6th, with the loss of 530 killed and wounded. Tippú lost in killed, wounded, and deserters, 20,000 men.

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PART V.—THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY. A.D. 1798—1805.

§ 59. Lord Wellesley, Governor-General. § 60. Summary of his Administration. § 61. The Subsidiary System. § 62. Tippú's Intrigues. § 63. Subsidiary Treaty with the Nizám. § 64. War with Tippú. § 65. Battle of Sedasir. § 66. Battle of Mállavelli. § 67. Siege of Seringapatam. § 68. The Storming of Seringapatam. § 69. Death of the Sultán. § 70. Settlement of Mysor. § 71. Subsequent arrangements. § 72. Oudh Affairs. § 73. Quarrels between the Governor-General and the Directors. § 74. Retirement of Lord Wellesley.

§ 59. The Marquis Wellesley (at first known as Lord Mornington) was a friend of Pitt and Dundas, and for four years had been a member of the Board of Control. He arrived in India as fourth Governor-General, May 1798, and left in August 1805. He was a man of real genius, a good scholar and a great statesman; his administration was more brilliantly successful than that of any other Governor-General, and was marked by an entire departure from the non-intervention policy, and by the introduction of the subsidiary system [*see* § 61] into the relations between the British Government and the native powers.

§ 60. The chief events of this administration were connected with the Fourth Mysor War, and the Second and Third Mahratta Wars. The history of the subjugation of the Mahrattas, from the treaty of Bassein in 1802 to the final submission of Sindia and Holkár in 1805, must be studied in Chap V., §§ 87—101, where also will be found an account of the release of Sháh Alam II. from Mahratta thraldom by Lord Lake in 1803, and of the contest with the Jat Rájá of Bhartpur in 1805.

§ 61. A few words are here necessary to explain the SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM; which Warren Hastings was the first to introduce in his dealings with Oudh, and which was the basis of the policy of the Marquis Wellesley in his dealings with Native States. When a State consented by treaty to accede to this system, it acknowledged the British Government as the Paramount Power in India; and in return it received the guarantee of that Government for its safety and integrity. It agreed not to make war or peace without the sanction of the Paramount Power; and to maintain a contingent of troops as a subsidiary force wherewith to aid the British Government in time of need. Such were usually

the main conditions of this policy; modified, of course, according to circumstances. It superseded altogether the policy which had been in vogue under Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore; which had been based mainly on the foolish idea of maintaining a *balance of power* amongst the Native States, so as to prevent any of them becoming too powerful.

§ 62. The British Empire in India was in considerable danger at the moment of the arrival of Lord Wellesley. Tippú, the Nizám, and Sindia were all under French influence, and had their armies chiefly offered by Frenchmen. Zamán Sháh, the grandson of the terrible Ahmad Sháh Abdáli who had crushed the Mahrattas at Pánipat, threatened an invasion, and intrigued with Tippú.

§ 63. The Nizám ruined by the Mahrattas in the battle of Kurdlá [*see* Chap. V., § 79] had been disgusted with the English for not helping him; and had thrown himself into the arms of the French. But the negotiations of Lord Wellesley were so successful that he now consented to a subsidiary treaty. He sent away all his French forces, and a Corps of British troops paid by the Nizám and officered by Englishmen was substituted for them. The Peshwá, by the advice of Náná Farnavís, declined to accede to the subsidiary system, and the other Mahrattas followed his example; but they remained outwardly friendly to the English.

§ 64. Since the treaty of 1792, six years of peace had enabled Tippú largely to increase his resources. The Mysor army was well drilled and splendidly equipped in every way, under the care of a body of French soldiers. At last the outbreak of the storm, thus threatened, came in 1798. The French Governor of the Island of Mauritius put forth an insolent proclamation, announcing that an embassy had arrived from the Sultán of Mysor to ask for the help of the French in expelling the English from India. Lord Wellesley called on Tippú to explain his hostile conduct; and immediately prepared for war. Meanwhile Tippú had received a further body of French officers, and had madly declared himself a "citizen" of the French republic; he also received assurances of support from Napoleon Buonaparte, now in Egypt with a French army.

§ 65. Lord Wellesley, having now completed the subsidiary treaty with the Nizám, and thereby acquired a considerable accession of force, sent his brother Colonel Wellesley (afterwards the great Duke of Wellington) to Madras; and soon followed him in person, and proceeded to negotiate with Tippú. At length operations commenced in earnest, General HARRIS being Commander-in-Chief with the army of the Carnatic, including the contingent of the Nizám under Colonel Wellesley and Captain Malcolm; whilst General Stuart was advancing on the Malabar side with an army of Bombay troops, Tippú, by an extraordinarily rapid movement, intercepted the latter army at SEDASIR: Here was fought the first battle of the war, in which Tippú was worsted with the loss of 2,000 men.

§ 66. The next action was fought with General Harris' army. He had marched very slowly to Ráikot, and thence to MALLAVELLI, only 40 miles from Seringapatam. Here he met Tippú's forces, whom a charge of British infantry under Colonel Wellesley at once put to flight. Tippú now made the greatest exertion to prevent the English from marching on Seringapatam; but General Harris eluded him by crossing the Káveri to the south of Seringapatam, and marching along its southern bank. He took up his position before the fortress; and a few days later (15th April 1799) was joined by General Stuart and the Bombay Army.

§ 67. Tippú seems to have lost all the energies of his mind at this time, and to have been overwhelmed by fear and despair. He consulted soothsayers and Bráhmans, and caused prayers to be offered up both in Muhammadan mosques and in Hindú temples, forgetful of the frightful cruelties which he had inflicted on the Hindús. He sent to propose terms of peace, and then refused to listen to the conditions offered by General Harris. He appears to have lost all generalship and diplomacy, and even common sense.

§ 68. Meanwhile General Harris was vigorously bombarding the defences of the stupendous fortress; and on May 3, 1799, the breach was reported to be practicable. Before daybreak on the 4th, General Baird, who had for four years been a prisoner in dungeons of the city, led the troops to the assault. In seven minutes the British flag was planted on the summit of the breach.

The two columns, after encountering many obstacles, and gallant opposition from a small band of Mysor troops, met over the eastern gateway. The city was taken.

§ 69. The body of the Sultán himself was found in a palanquin under an archway, beneath a heap of slain. It was buried with military honours the next day in a beautiful mausoleum in the Lál Bágh. It was ascertained (and it takes away any lingering feeling of pity for the tyrant), that every European prisoner taken during the siege had been put to death by Tippú.

§ 70. The two chief officers of the kingdom, named Púrnia and Kamar-ud-dín, with the eldest son of the slain Tippú and all the principal men of the State, now surrendered themselves. Colonel Wellesley was made Commandant of the captured city, in which he soon restored order and confidence; and the Governor-General proceeded to make arrangements for the disposal of the conquered kingdom. The districts near Haidarábád were given to the Nizám; whilst Canara, Coimbator, and the Wynaad were retained by the British. The family of Tippú were deposed, and settled at Vellor with Government pensions; and the legal representative of the ancient Hindú royal family, a child of five years of age, was brought forth from the obscurity in which he and his mother had been living, and was declared Mahárájá of Mysor.

§ 71. During the minority of this young prince the affairs of the kingdom were conducted by Púrnia, who was an able minister; General Wellesley remaining, during the intervals of his campaigns, till 1805 as Commissioner of Mysor. The fall of Seringapatam made the English unquestionably supreme in the Deccan.

§ 72. The Governor-General about this time (1801) intervened in the affairs of Oudh, which had been frightfully misgoverned and oppressed by the Nawáb Vazír, Saádat Alí, and his Vazír; who moreover had neglected to maintain their army in the efficient and disciplined state promised by the subsidiary treaty; Lord Wellesley now compelled the Nawáb to remedy this, and to cede certain districts to the British Government for the support of these troops. The districts thus ceded comprised a great part of what are now called the North-West Provinces.

§ 73. One of the subjects of continual debate during this administration was the question of allowing *private trade* to India. The Company in 1793 allowed 3,000 tons annually for this purpose; but the trade of private individuals soon passed this limit. Lord Wellesley wished to throw the trade open, and thereby incurred the displeasure of the Directors. In 1802, the Court reduced various items of expenditure sanctioned by the Governor-General, removed Mr. Webbe, the able Secretary of the Madras Government, and interfered in such a vexatious way with the prerogatives of the Governor-General, that the latter intimated his intention of returning to England that year. Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, son of the great Clive, resigned in consequence; and was succeeded by Lord W. Bentinck. The Governor-General, however, was induced to remain another year; and that year fixed the destinies of British India; it was the year of the Second Mahratta War.

§ 74. The progress of the wars against the Mahrattas which occupied the remainder of the reign of Lord Wellesley must be studied in Chap. V., §§ 88—101. This great Governor-General left Calcutta in August 1805, after a glorious and successful administration. Though the Directors of the East India Company were determined to upset his policy, they praised him for his "ardent zeal to promote the well-being of India, and to uphold the interest and honour of the British Empire;" they granted him a sum of £20,000, and placed his statue in the India House.

PART VI.—LORD CORNWALLIS (THE SECOND TIME) AND SIR GEORGE BARLOW. A.D. 1805—1807.

§ 75. Lord Cornwallis a second time in India. § 76. Sir George Barlow. § 77. The Vellor Mutiny. § 78. Sir George Barlow sent to Madras as Governor.

§ 75. That party in England which was opposed to the bold policy of the great Marquis Wellesley, succeeded in obtaining the appointment of Lord Cornwallis as his successor; and the latter arrived in Calcutta for the second time, August 1, 1805. He came to India pledged to reverse the policy of Lord Wellesley, and to bring about an immediate peace with the Mahratta chiefs

Sindia and Holkár at any cost [*see* Chap. V., § 101]. He condemned the treaty of Bassein; and was proceeding to join Lord Lake at the seat of war with the intention of insisting on a peace, when he died at Gházipur.

§ 76. The senior member of Council, Sir George Barlow, succeeded to the Governor-Generalship, and was bent on carrying out the peace policy of Lord Cornwallis. He overruled the remonstrances of Lord Lake, and made peace with Holkár (who was already virtually subdued) on the absurdly favourable terms described in Chap. V., § 101. The most disgraceful part of the settlement thus made with the Mahrattas was the fact that it permitted Holkár and Sindia to wreak their vengeance on the faithful Rajpút allies of the British; for Sir George Barlow declared that the British Government would not interfere any further in the quarrels of the Native Courts.

§ 77. About this time (1806) occurred the Vellor Mutiny, whilst Lord William Bentinck was Governor of Madras. The sepoys of the Madras army were irritated by a change in their head-dress; it was rumoured that the new head-dress was a kind of hat, and the ignorant and easily-deluded sepoys were induced to believe that this indicated a design on the part of the Government to force them to become Christians. The discontent was fomented by the sons of Tippú, who had been allowed to live at Vellor with hardly any restraint, with enormous pensions, and surrounded by large bodies of friends and retainers. The garrison of Vellor consisted of a strong force of native troops, with only two companies of Europeans; at two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of July 1806, the sepoys surprised the European troops in their sleep, and murdered one hundred and thirteen of them. Colonel Gillespie, who was at Arcot, sixteen miles distant, immediately marched on Vellor with a small force, stormed the fort, and dispersed the mutineers, inflicting summary punishment on those who fell into his hands.

§ 78. Sir George Barlow was now superseded; and Lord Minto, who had been Viceroy of Corsica, and subsequently President of the Board of Control, was sent out in his place. Sir George Barlow was made Governor of Madras.

PART VII.—LORD MINTO. A.D. 1807—1813.

§ 79. Lord Minto's necessary interference in Native States. § 80. Travancor. § 81. Capture of French Colonies. § 82. Treaty with Ranjít Singh. § 83. His early history. § 84. Treaties with Sind, Kábul, and Persia. § 85. Retirement of Lord Minto. § 86. The Company's Monopoly taken away.

§ 79. Lord Minto was at first fully as determined as his predecessors to carry out the peace policy which was so strongly urged upon him by the English Government; but he soon found it impossible to avoid all interference with Native States, for he was compelled to help the Rájá of Barár against Amír Khán [*see* Chapter V., §§ 104, 110], and also to interfere in the affairs both of the Peshwá and of the Nizám.

§ 80. More active interference was found necessary in Travancor in 1808; where disturbances had broken out, in consequence of the interference of the British Resident with the corrupt and oppressive practices of the Diwán. Some British subjects were massacred at Alepy, a port between Cochin and Kollam (or *Quilon*); and the Resident's house at Kollam was attacked. The British troops in consequence occupied the country, which remained under British administration until 1813.

§ 81. Ships-of-war from the French islands of Mauritius, Bourbon, and Rodriguez were in the habit of harassing the English trade; consequently expeditions were fitted out in the years 1809 and 1810, which took these islands; and about the same time the rich Dutch island of Java was conquered. Mauritius still belongs to England, but Bourbon was restored to France in 1814.

§ 82. In 1809, the Sardárs of Pattiála and Jhínd appealed to Lord Minto for protection against the encroachments of RANJIT SINGH, the Síkh chief of Láhor. Mr. Metcalfe (afterwards Sir Charles Metcalfe, and subsequently Lord Metcalfe) was sent to Láhor as an envoy; and a treaty was concluded by which Ranjít Singh agreed to respect the rights of the Cis-Satlej States and to cultivate the friendship of the British Government. Ranjít Singh was greatly pleased with the demeanour of young Metcalfe (who was only in his twenty-first year); and was so much impressed in

favor of the English character, that he could never afterwards be induced to break this treaty.

§ 83. A few words about the rise of Ranjít Singh will in this place be useful to the student.

An invading army had marched across the Panjáb in 1738, under Nádir Sháh; and again several times under the Afghán Chief Ahmad Sháh Abdáli or Durráni, 1747—1759 [*see* Chapter III., §§ 132—150]. The province had been severed from the Mughul Empire, and had been attached more or less closely to the Durráni Empire of Kábul, since 1751. Ranjít Singh was born in November 2, 1780. He first attracted the attention of Zamán Sháh Durráni [*see* § 62] the grandson of Ahmad Sháh, by recovering some guns for him which had been lost in the Jhelam. By Zamán Sháh he was appointed Governor of Láhor in 1798, when he was only eighteen. From this time Ranjít Singh devoted his great abilities to the improvement of his army, and the enlargement of his territories. We shall hear of him again in the time of Lord William Bentinck.

§ 84. Great fears were entertained at this time, that French and Russian intrigues on the North-West frontier, in Persia and Afghánistán, might endanger the peace of India; so Lord Minto having secured the friendship of Ranjít Singh, proceeded to send envoys to Sind, Kábul, and Persia. The Amírs of Sind agreed to exclude the French; and Mountstuart Elphinstone went as envoy to Kábul, where the Durráni monarch Sháh Shujá, brother of Zamán Sháh, and grandson of Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, concluded a treaty with him in 1809. Sir John Malcolm was sent to Persia; where the Sháh agreed not to permit the passage through Persia of troops hostile to England. These three men—Metcalfe, Elphinstone, and Malcolm—are amongst the most famous of Anglo-Indian statesmen and diplomatists.

§ 85. Lord Minto returned to England in 1813. He was made Earl of Minto; but he died in the same year. His name has always been respected as that of one of the ablest rulers of British India.

§ 86. In 1793, the East India Company's Charter had been renewed for twenty years. The time had now come for the recon-

sideration of the subject. The result was the destruction of the Company's monopoly, for which the Court of Directors made a determined struggle. The trade to China was still to remain in their hands, but the trade to India was thrown open.

PART VIII.—THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, A.D. 1813—1823. (LORD MOIRA).

§ 87. Lord Hastings as Governor-General. § 88. Summary of his administration. § 89. War with Nepal. § 90. General Ochterlony's Campaign. § 91. Peace. § 92. Mahratta affairs; and retirement of Lord Hastings.

§ 87. The Earl of Moira (afterwards the Marquis of Hastings) was appointed to succeed Lord Minto; and arrived in Calcutta in October 1813. He found the finances embarrassed, and many disputes with Native States pending; for nine years he ruled with resolution and success, and left the Empire in a flourishing condition. He was a distinguished soldier, an experienced statesman, and a man of amiable manners and noble character.

§ 88. The most important events of the reign were connected (1) with the war in Nepál; (2) with Mahratta affairs. The latter must be studied in Chap. V., §§ 107—121; they are mainly concerned with (1) the treacheries and fall of Báji Ráo II.; (2) the Pindári war; (3) the treachery and fall of Appá Saheb, Rájá of Nágpur; (4) the restoration of the Rájá of Sátára; (5) the final settlement with Sindia and Holkár, and of Mahratta affairs generally.

§ 89. The Ghúrkas, a powerful and warlike tribe, had recently established themselves in Nepal. Gradually extending their conquests, they had thoroughly subjugated the Sub-Himálayan valleys, and were now displaying an inclination to encroach on their Southern neighbours in Hindústán. The ruler of Nepál had imprisoned the zamíndár of Bhútwál, and had seized his territory; and eighteen British police officers in that district had been murdered. The Governor-General determined to teach the Ghúrkas a severe lesson; and ordered a British army to advance into Nepal in four divisions by different routes, A.D. 1814.

§ 90. Generals Ochterlony and Gillespie were in command of the British troops; but the latter was killed in a gallant

but unsuccessful attempt to take the fortress of Kalunga, and the army met with several reverses. Amír Singh was the general of the Ghúrkas. General Ochterlony at length succeeded in driving him from the heights of Rámgarh, which were exceedingly strong; the Rájá of Biláspur was detached from the Nepál cause, and the province of Kumáon subdued. At last Amír Singh was shut up in the fortress of Malonn; and in May 1815, he was forced to capitulate to General Ochterlony. All the forts between the Jamnah and the Satlej were then given up, and Garhwál evacuated.

§ 91. The Court of Nepál, terrified by these reverses, now made overtures for peace; but the negotiations were broken off, owing to the unwillingness of the Nepálese to cede some districts of the Teráí. General Ochterlony resumed military operations in January 1816, and gained some more victories; when at length the Nepál Darbár, convinced of their inability to oppose the British, agreed to cede all the conquered provinces, and peace was concluded (1816).

§ 92. From this time to his retirement, the Marquis of Hastings was mainly occupied in the affairs of Central India, detailed in Chapter V. He returned to England in 1823, accompanied by the applause of all.

PART IX.—LORD AMHERST. A.D. 1823—1828.

§ 93. Mr. Adam's Press-restrictions. § 94. The War with Burmah. § 95. Battle of Pagahn. § 96. Peace of Yendabú. § 97. The Barrackpur Mutiny. § 98. The Storming of Bhartpur. § 99. Mr. Butterworth Bayley, Acting Governor-General.

§ 93. Lord Amherst was appointed to succeed the Marquis of Hastings; Mr. Canning having been offered and having declined the nomination, Mr. Adam acted as Governor-General until the arrival of Lord Amherst in August 1823, and made himself very unpopular by imposing some severe restrictions on the press.

§ 94. The arrogance of the Burmese, whose territories had lately been extended through Arakán and Assám to the frontiers of Bengal, had long threatened to bring them into collision with the English. In 1818, the King of Ava made an imprudent demand

for the cession of some of the eastern districts of Bengal, as part of the ancient kingdom of Arakán; which demand was, of course, treated with contempt. In 1823, the Island of Sháhpúrí was occupied by thirteen sepoys, for the protection of British subjects. A body of a thousand Burmese expelled them. Kachár was next attacked, and British troops were sent to aid the fugitive Rájá. It was now determined to invade Burmah, and bring the King of Ava to his senses.

§ 95. Sir Archibald Campbell commanded the expedition, which comprised both Bengal and Madras troops; and sailed to the mouth of the Rangoon river in May 1824. Great difficulties were experienced on account of the heavy rains, and the defective commissariat arrangements. Many successes, however, were obtained, and many battles gained, the most noted Burmese general, named Mahá Baudula, being killed at the capture of Donabu, early in 1825. Town after town was taken; and at the battle of PAGAHN in the following year (1826), two thousand British troops routed a Burmese army of 18,000. After this the English prisoners were released; and the negotiations for peace, which had been twice broken off by the obstinacy of the King of Ava, were renewed.

§ 96. At length when the English army had reached Yendabú, only four miles from the capital, a treaty was signed; by which the King of Ava agreed to resign all claims to Assám, Kachár and Jaintíá, to cede Arrakán and several other rich provinces, and to pay a crore of rupees as a partial indemnification for the cost of the war.

§ 97. A mutiny occurred among the sepoys at Barrackpur, in connexion with this war. The 47th regiment of native infantry, feeling aggrieved at some trifling hardships to which they were temporarily subjected, broke out into open mutiny. Sir E. Paget, the Commander-in-Chief, hastened to the spot, surrounded the mutineers, and on their obstinately refusing to submit, caused a battery of artillery to fire upon them. They fled at once; and some who were taken prisoners were executed. The number of the regiment was erased from the list of the army.

§ 98. The taking of Bhartpur, which had been assaulted unsuccessfully by Lord Lake in 1805 [*see* Chap. V., § 100].

January 18, 1826, is another event which renders this administration remarkable; and which clearly proved to all the native Princes that no fortress, however strong, could resist the British arms. The Rájá of Bhartpur died without issue in 1823; there were the usual quarrels about the succession, which Sir David Ochterlony, the English Resident, terminated by acknowledging Baldeo Singh as the successor. Baldeo, however, died just afterwards, in January 1825, leaving a young son as his heir. The former claimant, Durjan Sál, now took possession of the fort; and relying on the supineness of Lord Amherst (who was opposed to interference) and on the strength of the fort, he imprisoned the young Rájá, and murdered his uncle. Sir David Ochterlony was so much annoyed at the inactivity of the Governor-General, that he resigned; and shortly afterwards died. Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed to succeed; and he eventually persuaded Lord Amherst that it was necessary to punish Durjan Sál for the sake both of justice and of maintaining British prestige, which has suffered from the insolence of the usurper. Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, marched on Bhartpur with a strong force; and commenced the siege on 28th December 1825. The fort was stormed on the 18th January 1826; and the young Rájá was immediately reinstated.

§ 99. Lord Amherst, one of the least eminent of the rulers of British India, retired in March 1828; and Mr. Butterworth Bayley, one of the distinguished school of statesmen trained under the Marquis Wellesley, acted as Governor-General until the arrival of his successor.

PART X.—LORD WILLIAM CAVENDISH BENTINCK.

A.D. 1828—1835.

§ 100. Summary of Lord W. Bentinck's Administration. § 101. Settlement of Mysor. § 102. Conquest of Coorg. § 103. Economical and judical reforms. § 104. Abolition of Satí. § 105. Suppression of Thuggee. § 106. Macaulay in India. § 107. The Overland Route, and Rámmohan Raí. § 108. Conference of Ropár. § 109. Murder of Mr. Frazer. § 110. Renewal of the Charter. § 111. Sir Charles Metcalfe, acting Governor-General.

§ 100. Lord William Bentinck had formerly been Governor of Madras; and he had been recalled in 1807. He was conse

quently anxious to have a change of retrieving his reputation, by becoming Governor-General of India; and he fully attained the object of his wishes, for his administration marks an era of peaceful improvement and progress in India. It commenced in July 1828, and lasted until March 1835; and though not remarkable for any great military exploits, was distinguished by a large number of reforms, economical, judicial, and social, of the greatest value and importance.

§ 101. The administration of Mysor under its Native Rájá had been grossly mismanaged after the death of the able prime minister Púrn.a; so it was placed in 1832 under the control of a British officer, and the country has since prospered wonderfully. The Rájá has since died, and the British Government has recognised the succession of his adopted son and heir.

§ 102. The ancient principality of Coorg, on the borders of Mysor, had suffered greatly from the cruelties of Tippú; but had somewhat recovered under a wise and brave ruler named Víra Rájendra. This Rájá was succeeded by his nephew, who was a monster of oppression and cruelty. He slew every member of the royal family, and treated the people with dreadful barbarity. He was in fact mad; and it was at length determined, on his defying the British Government, to depose him. After a ten day's war Merkára the capital was occupied, the Rájá sent as a prisoner to Benares, and British rule established throughout the province, 1833.

§ 103. Many important economical reforms were carried out by Lord William Bentinck in the civil and military administrations. Of these the one that provoked most opposition was the abolition of *Double Bátta*. *Double Batta* is an allowance given to the army when on service, in addition to their ordinary pay. The judicial reforms carried out at this time were of considerable importance; especially with reference to the extended employment of native judicial officers in responsible posts.

§ 104. But the reform for which Lord William Bentinck is most famous, was the abolition of *satí* or *suttee*. This horrible custom (the self-immolation of widows on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands) had long been practised in India, though by

many scholars it was believed not to be authorised by the Sástras. The Governor-General, aided by Mr. Butterworth Bayley and Sir Charles Metcalfe, his two councillors, at this time (December 1829) enacted that any person aiding or abetting a *satí* should be visited with the terrors of the law. The barbarous superstition is now nearly obsolete in India.

§ 105. In 1829, the Governor-General appointed Major Sleeman (afterwards Sir William Sleeman) as Commissioner for the suppression of *thuggee*. The *thugs* were bands of wretches, half-robbers and half-fanatics, who were in the habit of decoying away and murdering unprotected travellers, especially in the forests of Central India. This occupation was at once their religion and their mode of subsistence. The active efforts of Major Sleeman and his co-adjutors fortunately resulted in the almost total suppression of the crime.

§ 106. Thomas Babington Macaulay (afterwards the famous Lord Macaulay) was the law member of Council in Calcutta from 1835 to 1840. It was chiefly owing to his influence, that at this time the oriental system of education was displaced by the European system in Government educational institutions. The exclusive use and study of the English language was somewhat modified at a later time, under Lord Auckland. It was seen that the great impulse to native education must be given through the medium of English, as the key to all modern science. It is for native scholars who have received a high English education to revive and enrich their own vernacular literature; and thereby to render possible a wholesome system of education for the masses of India, who can only be reached through the vernacular languages.

§ 107. About this time was established steam communication between India and England, by the *overland route* through Egypt and the Red Sea. Rámmohan Rái, a distinguished Bengáli scholar and reformer, visited England as an agent of the titular King of Delhi; and died at Bristol in 1833.

§ 108. During the whole period of Lord William Bentinck's administration, Russian intrigues had been busy in undermining British interests in the countries on the north-west frontier of India. To counterbalance these, treaties were now ma

partly with the view of protecting British commerce on the river Indus, with the Amíra of Sind, the Rájá of Bháwalpur, and Ranjít Singh the ruler of Láhor. In 1831, Lord William Bentinck had a meeting with Ranjít Singh at ROPAR on the banks of the Satlej, which was conducted with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. The great Síkh chieftain was then induced to take up the cause of Sháh Shujá, the Durráni sovereign of Afghánistán; who had been expelled by his brother Mahmud, who in his turn had been murdered by the Bárakzai tribe of Afgháns. The most powerful chief of the Bárakzais was Dost Muhammad, who possessed Kábul and Ghazní; and he by his skill and bravery succeeded (1834) in repelling a well-organised attempt on the part of Sháh Shujá to recover the throne of Afghánistán. We shall have to return to the affairs of Sháh Shujá in the next chapter.

§ 109. In 1834, Mr. Frazer, Political Commissioner and Agent of the Governor-General at Delhi, was shot dead by an assassin. He had offended Shams-ud-dín Khán, the Nawáb of Firúzpur, who instigated the murder. The Nawáb and his tool were both hanged at Delhi.

§ 110. At the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1834, its commercial character was altogether taken away, the monopoly of the trade with China being now abrogated. The Company thenceforward existed only as a ruling body. At the same time Agra was made the capital of a fourth Presidency, and Sir Charles Metcalfe appointed the first Governor; but in 1835, this was again changed, and the North-Western Provinces have remained ever since under a Lieutenant-Governor.

§ 111. Lord William Bentinck left India in May 1835; and Sir Charles Metcalfe took his place as acting Governor-General, until the arrival of a successor in March 1836. Under Metcalfe, who was supported by the advice of Macaulay, all vexatious restrictions on the free action of the press were removed.

PART XI.—LORD AUCKLAND. A.D. 1836—1842.

§ 112. Summary of Lord Auckland's Administration. § 113. Disputed Succession in Oudh. § 114. State of Afghánistán. § 115. The Persians attack Herát. § 116. Tripartite Treaty. § 117. Advance of the British

Army. § 118. Sháh Shujá enthroned at Kandahár. § 119. Storming of Ghazní. § 120. Occupation of Kábul. § 121. Return of the main Army. § 122. Rewards. § 123. Battle of Parwán. § 124. Revolt of the Khiljís. § 125. Outbreak at Kábul. § 126. Undecided Counsels. § 127. Assassination of Macnaghten. § 128. Disastrous Retreat. § 129. Defence of Jaláládád. § 130. The First Chinese War. § 131. Retirement of Lord Auckland.

§ 112. Lord Auckland, who was appointed to succeed as tenth Governor-General, arrived in India in March 1836, and ruled till March 1842. His administration is chiefly famous for the melancholy disasters of the Afghán expedition; but we also have to notice (1) an insurrection in Oudh; (2) the supersession of the treacherous Rájá of Sátára, in 1839, for an account of whom the student must consult Chap. V., § 121; and (3) the First Chinese War.

§ 113. In 1837 there was a disputed succession in Oudh. The British Resident supported the cause of Násir-ud-daulah, an uncle of the deceased king. The Begam raised an insurrection in favour of a reputed son of the late king, who was believed to be illegitimate; but it was soon suppressed.

§ 114. The relations between the British Government of India and the ruler of Afghánistán, Dost Muhammad, were at this time in a very unsatisfactory condition. The expelled Durráni chief, Sháh Shujá, both before and after his unsuccessful attempt in 1834 [*see* § 108], lived as a British pensioner at Lúdhiánah. An embassy, which Lord Auckland sent to Dost Muhammad in 1837 under Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes, utterly failed in its object of conciliating that chieftain.

§ 115. Meanwhile the Sháh of Persia, instigated by the Russians, claimed Herát, and evidently hoped to be able to annex Afghánistán. Herát was at this time in the possession of a member of the Durráni royal family. It was attacked by a Persian army, 40,000 strong, in November 1837; it was gallantly defended by the Herátis, mainly by the assistance of the skill and bravery of an English officer named Eldred Pottinger. In September 1838, the Persians were compelled to retreat with disgrace to their own frontiers; their flight being hastened by the news of an English fleet having been despatched to the Persian Gulf.

§ 116. It was believed that the cause of Sháh Shujá was mor popular in Afghánistán than that of Dost Muhammad; and h

claims to the throne were certainly better. Consequently, during the progress of the siege of Herát, Lord Auckland determined to restore him: and with this view, a treaty was concluded in June 1838 between Ranjít Singh, Sháh Shujá, and the British; and "the army of the Indus" was at once formed for the invasion of Afghánistán, and was ultimately put under the command of Sir John Keane. Mr. William H. Macnaghten accompanied the army as British envoy to the Court of Sháh Shujá.

§ 117. The retreat of the Persians from Herát made the enterprise less hazardous, and caused a diminution in the number of troops sent with Sir John Keane. The invasion, however, was not given up; and the army advanced across the Indus, through the Bolán Pass and Bíluchistán, to Kándahár; where all its divisions met in May 1839. Karáchi had been taken by a naval force in February, by which conquest the Amírs of Sind had been overawed. The troops had, however, suffered severely from hardships and privations in their long and difficult march through the mountains of Bíluchistán.

§ 118. At Kandahár Sháh Shujá was solemnly enthroned in state; it was noticed, however, that few Afgháns of any consequence attended the ceremony. About this time intelligence was received of the death of Ranjít Singh, the old "Lion of the Panjab" (June 1839); whose loss was a severe injury to the cause of Sháh Shujá.

§ 119. The army now marched on to Ghazní, on the road to Kábul. They found Ghazní much more strongly fortified than had been expected; and since they had brought no siege-guns, a long delay might have occurred, had not a brave party of engineers succeeded in blowing up the Kábul gate with an immense charge of gunpowder. A storming-party under General Sale and Colonel Dennie rushed in, and the fortress was soon taken.

§ 120. From Ghazní Sir John Keane proceeded to Kábul; which he entered on August 7, 1839, Dost Muhammad having already fled in the direction of Bukhára. In September, the army was joined by some reinforcements from India; which had marched through the Khaibar Pass, capturing the important positions of Alí Masjid and Jalálábád on their way.

§ 121. The army of invasion had now apparently accomplished its purpose. Sháh Shujá had been restored to his throne; so the main body of the British army was ordered to return to India, a portion of the Bengal forces under General Nott and Colonel Sale remaining as the garrison of Afghánistán.

§ 122. Rewards were now freely distributed by the British Government. Lord Auckland was made Earl of Auckland; Sir John Keane, Lord Keane of Ghazní, Mr. Macnaghten and Colonel Henry Pottinger were made baronets; and many others, including Sale and Burnes, were knighted.

§ 123. General Willshire, at the head of the Bombay troops, took Kelát on their way back to India; for the Khán of Kelát had behaved in an hostile manner to the army on its march to Kandahár. In Afghánistán, many severe and often disastrous conflicts occurred before the country was thoroughly subdued. The last was at Parwán in the Paujshu valley near the Ghorband Pass; after which Dost Muhammad surrendered himself as a prisoner to Sir William Macnaghten, and was sent to India (Nov. 1, 1840).

§ 124. A hollow peace prevailed from this time to the beginning of October 1841. Sir William Macnaghten had been appointed Governor of Bombay, and was about to join his appointment when the Khiljí chiefs revolted. Sir Robert Sale was attacked by the insurgents on his march to Jalálábád; he succeeded in forcing the Kúrd Kábul pass under the most harassing attacks, and finding Jalálábád in an utterly defenceless state, proceeded hastily to throw up such fortifications as he was able.

§ 125. Before Sir Robert Sale had reached Jalálábád, the whole of Afghánistán had risen in insurrection. The storm broke at Kábul on the morning of November 2; when Sir Alexander Burnes, his brother, and some other officers who lived in a house detached from the rest of the troops, were assassinated, and the flag of revolt openly set up in the city.

§ 126. General Elphinstone, who was in command of the army, was utterly incapacitated by old age and infirmities. General Shelton, the second in command, was anxious to retreat to Jalálábád; whilst the Envoy, Sir William Macnaghten, wished maintain the occupation of Kábul. An unaccountable apat

(2) the conquest of Sind, (3) a short but decisive war with Gwáliár.

§ 133. The British garrison had unfortunately evacuated Ghazní in March 1842, and nearly the whole of their number perished in the retreat; but General Sale and "the illustrious garrison" at Jalálábád still held out against untold difficulties and countless enemies. The misfortunes of the heroic little band were increased by an earthquake, which threw down the fortifications on which they had bestowed so much labour. But they quickly repaired the breaches; and not only defended their position, but even sallied forth, routed Akbar Khán and the besieging force, and burnt their camp. Their triumph on this occasion was saddened by the loss of Colonel Dennie, one of the bravest heroes of the war. Major Proudfoot and Captain Havelock (afterwards Sir Henry Havelock, *see* § 193) were also distinguished for their gallant conduct in this siege. At length General Pollock, on April 5, 1842, forced his way through the Khaibar Pass; and soon afterwards had the pleasure of rescuing Sale and his brave companions.

§ 134. Another body of reinforcements had been sent forward under General England through the Bolan Pass, to relieve General Nott, who still gallantly held out at Kandahár. The first attempt to cross the mountains of Sistán was unsuccessful; but General England, having obtained reinforcements, made a second attempt and reached Kandahár with all his supplies without much further loss, about the end of April 1842.

§ 135. General Pollock, having concerted measures with General Nott for a combined advance on Kábul, marched from Jalálábád about the end of August. The long march was one of incessant fighting and of continued victory; and at length, covered with glory, the army encamped on the race-ground of Kábul on the 15th of September.

§ 136. General Nott had marched from Kandahár simultaneously, and met General Pollock at Kábul. On the way he had fought many severe engagements with Shams-ud-dín, the Afghán Governor of Ghazní; and had taken and utterly destroyed that fortress. The sandal-wood gates of the [illegible]hmud of

Ghazní, which the Afghán conquerors had taken eight centuries before from the temple of Somnáth [*see* Chap. II., § 10] were carried off by the victors, and finally deposited in the fort at Agra.

§ 137. Akbar Khán had inhumanly given orders that the English prisoners who had trusted to his good faith, should be taken away to the wilds of Túrkistán and there sold as slaves. Their keeper, however, was bribed to restore them; and at the Urgandí Pass, on the 20th September 1842, Sir R. Sale at the head of a flying detachment had the happiness of receiving back his wife and daughter, together with their companions in misfortune. Poor old General Elphinstone had died in captivity.

§ 138. Large numbers of the defeated Afgháns had taken refuge in the fortress of Istaliff, which was now stormed by the British; an immense amount of property, that had been stolen at the time of the Kábul massacre, was recovered.

§ 139. The great bazár of Kábul was utterly destroyed, as a punishment to the guilty city; and the honour of the British arms having been now vindicated, the army quietly marched back through the Panjáb to Fírúzpur. Dost Muhammad and the other Afghán prisoners were liberated, and the idea of interfering any further in the affairs of Afghánistán was abandoned.

§ 140. Immediately after the final settlement of Afghán affairs, the attention of the Governor-General was demanded by the state of affairs in Sind. Throughout the troubles in Afghánistán, the conduct of the Amírs of Sind had been most hostile; and they still continued their threatening proceedings.

It may here be noticed that these Amírs were the descendants of a tribe of Biláchis, who conquered Sind in 1786. They lived in fortified castles, as feudal nobles, amidst a conquered population; and were guilty of gross cruelty and oppression. They had at all times shown great jealousy of any British interference, and had discouraged any commercial relations between Sind and the British dominions in India.

§ 141. In October 1842, Sir Charles Napier was appointed Commander-in-Chief and British plenipotentiary in Sind; and was confidently believed that the negotiations which were now o

on foot would result in peace. It was soon evident, however, that the Amírs were not acting in good faith; and at length matters were brought to a crisis by an attack which was made by a large Sind force on the house of Major Outram (afterwards Sir James Outram, *see* § 194), who most gallantly defended his position, and ultimately retreated in triumph to a British steamer on the river.

§ 142. Sir Charles Napier immediately put all his forces in motion; and came upon the united armies of the Amírs, entrenched at MIANI, a place about six miles from Haidarábád. The Sind army was immensely superior in numbers, and still more in artillery; but a gallant charge of cavalry decided the day in favour of the British, and six of the chief Amírs now surrendered themselves as prisoners. The Amírs Sher Muhammad of Mírpur, however, was still at the head of a powerful army; and he was completely defeated at the hotly-contested battle of HAIDARABAD (Sind) 24th March, 1843. Mírpur and Amarkot (the birth-place of Akbar) were taken, and the whole country gradually subdued.

§ 143. It was now decided that the Amírs should be punished for their treachery by the loss of their dominions, and by being sent as prisoners to Benares. Sind was consequently annexed; though not without strong opposition, as many believed that the British Government was not justified in the annexation. Sir Charles Napier was appointed the Chief Commissioner; and under his wise rule, the country rapidly rose to great prosperity.

§ 144. Meanwhile troubles had been gathering in the Mahratta State of Gwáliár; where there was a powerful and turbulent army of 30,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, with 200 guns and officers mostly of European descent. An army still stronger and still more turbulent was in Láhor, released now from the control of old Ranjít Singh, and threatening those disturbances of the peace of India, which will engage our attention in the next part [*see* § 149]. This state of affairs rendered it necessary for the Governor-General to watch most carefully the proceedings of the Gwáliár Darbár.

Daulat Ráo Sindia had died in 1827, and his Maháráni had long governed as guardain of her adopted son Jankoji. The latter assumed the direct government in 1833; and in 1843 died childless,

leaving a young widow, who adopted a little boy related to the royal family. Quarrels as to who should be regent now broke out between the Mahárání and Mámá Sáheb, an uncle of Jankoji, the English Resident adopted the cause of the latter, who was now driven away by the Mahárání's faction.

§ 145. Lord Ellenborough saw that it was necessary to interfere at once; and he himself accompanied the army which, under Sir Hugh Gough, immediately crossed the Chambal into the Mahratta territories. Both the Governor-General and Sir Hugh Gough thought that the Mahratta authorities would now quietly submit, and were surprised suddenly to meet the Gwáliár army at MAHARAJPUR. Here a complete victory was gained, though with considerable loss, December 29, 1843.

§ 146. General Grey had been ordered to advance on Gwáliár by another road, and on the same day as that on which the battle of Mahárájpur was fought, he met the other division of the Gwáliár army at PANNIAR. In these two battles all the guns, ammunition, and treasures of the Mahrattas were captured; so that they were now compelled to submit unconditionally. A council of regency was set up, and all the other demands of the Governor-General were complied with; and since this period the Mahárájá of Gwáliár has been a loyal feudatory of the British Crown.

§ 147. Lord Ellenborough had had many differences of opinion with the Directors; and soon after his return to Calcutta in February 1844, he was suddenly recalled. He left India in August 1844.

PART XIII.—LORD HARDINGE, A.D. 1844—1847.

§ 148. Summary of Lord Hardinge's Administration. § 149. State of the Panjáb after the death of Ranjít Singh. § 150. Síkh Leaders. § 151. The Síkhs cross the Satlej. § 152. Battle of Múdkí. § 153. Battle of Fíruzshahr. § 154. Battle of Aliwál. § 155. Battle of Sobraon. § 156. Settlement of the Panjáb. § 157. Rewards. § 158. Kashmír. § 159. Suppression of cr uel Customs. § 160. Abolition of octroi duties. § 161. Public Works. § 162. Retirement and character of Lord Hardinge.

§ 148. Sir Henry Hardinge, afterwards Viscount Hardinge, was appointed to succeed Lord Ellenborough; he arrived in

Calcutta in 1844, and left it in 1847. He had served with distinction under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular war and at the battle of Waterloo, where he lost an arm. The chief events of his administration are connected with the First Sikh War; but we shall also have to notice some important social reforms carried out by him, particularly the suppression of infanticide and of human sacrifices amongst some aboriginal tribes.

§ 149. Since the death of Ranjít Singh in 11839 [*see* § 118], the Panjáb had been in a dreadful state of anarchy; Dian Singh, the favourite minister of Ranjít, being one of the chief intriguers. Karak Singh, a weak son of Ranjít Singh, swayed a nominal sceptre for four months; in November 1840 he died suddenly, under circumstances which caused a strong suspicion that he had been poisoned. His son Nihál Singh was installed, but was killed on the very same day by the falling of a beam, doubtless the result of contrivance; and Dian Singh now succeeded in placing Sher Singh on the *gadi*. Quarrel soon arose between the Rájá and his too powerful minister; and the latter caused both Sher Singh and his son to be assassinated in 1843. Dian Singh in his turn was murdered; and ultimately in the midst of the greatest anarchy and confusion, Dhulíp Singh, the son of Ranjít Singh by his favourite wife Chánd Kaur, was set up as Rájá. The chief Síkh Sardárs formed themselves into a Council of State; and the name of the Khálsá (*the pure*) was given to the whole Government.

§ 150. In 1845, the Panjáb was still the scene of anarchy and faction; the chief leaders being the Maháráni Chánd Kaur with her reputed paramour Lál Singh and her brother Jowaher Singh, Gulób Singh of Jammu, and Chattar Singh, the Commander-in-Chief. Lál Singh at length, after many struggles, got the upper hand, and was appointed vazír. The strong and well-disciplined army was showing signs of restlessness; and it was the policy of the Síkh chiefs to rid themselves of the fear of the army by inducing it to invade English territory.

§ 151. Sir Henry Hardinge desired peace; and at first only took the necessary precaution of placing a strong British force on the frontier between Mírat and the Satlej. But at length, on the 11th of December 1845, the Síkh army crossed the Satlej;

and the Governor-General then issued a proclamation, setting forth the unprovoked nature of the aggression, and calling on the protected chiefs to aid the British Government against the breakers of the peace.

§ 152. The Síkhs took up their position near Fírúzpur; and the first battle took place at MUDKI, about twenty miles from that place. The British army was under Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief; and consisted of 11,000 men. The Síkhs had 30,000 men and 40 guns, but they were defeated, with the loss of 17 guns. Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jalálábád, fell in this action; December 18, 1845.

§ 153. Sir Henry Hardinge joined the army on the following day; and waiving his rank as Governor-General, placed himself as second under Sir Hugh Gough. The Síkhs proceeded to entrench themselves in a strong camp at FIRUZSHAHR, about half-way between Múdki and Fírúzpur; they had a hundred guns, well served and in first-rate order, and were drawn up in the form of a horse-shoe. Sir Hugh Gough had been reinforced by the arrival of General Littler from Fírúzpur with 5,000 men; and on the afternoon of the 21st December 1845, about an hour before sunset, he led on his army to the assault. Darkness came on before any decisive result had been attained; and during the whole of that night the English and the Síkh forces were mixed up together on the field of battle in great confusion, the Governor-General and his colleagues bivouacking with the troops in the bitter cold without food or tents. At day-break, Sir Hugh Gough at the head of the right wing, and Sir Henry Hardinge at the head of the left, drove the whole Síkh army out of their encampment and out of the village of Fírúzshahr. Seventy-three of the enemy's guns were captured; but the English loss in killed and wounded was very heavy, amounting to one-seventh of the whole force. A fresh body of Síkhs under Tej Singh came up later in the day, and were about to fall on the wearied British troops; but they were overawed by the preparations made to receive them, and retired. Sir Hugh Gough, deficient in ammunition and supplies, was unable fully to follow up this glorious victory; and the remains of the Síkh army crossed the Satlej in safety.

§ 154. This deficiency in ammunition, in guns, and in stores of all kinds, obliged the British army to remain inactive for nearly a month; and in the meantime the Síkhs again crossed the Satlej in great force and with seventy guns. At length, however, Sir Harry Smith was sent forward with a small body of troops. He met Guláb Singh with a strong force of Síkhs at Baddiwál; but was unable to attack him, whilst the British troops suffered from the Síkh fire. This was regarded by the Síkhs as a victory; so Sir Harry Smith, having in the meantime obtained some reinforcements, marched out to attack the enemy on the 28th of January 1846 at ALIWAL. The British infantry, by their steady advance, drove the Síkhs into the river; the latter lost fifty-six guns, and immense quantities of ammunition and stores of all kinds. Guláb Singh, who had been very confident in the final success of the Síkh arms, now gave up hope, and commenced negotiations with the English leaders; whilst the Cis-Satlej States immediately declared in favour of the British.

§ 155. Sir Harry Smith now formed a junction with Sir Hugh Gough; and the latter determined to force the passage of the Satlej, and to take possession of the Panjáb. The Síkhs had entrenched themselves on both sides of the Satlej, at SOBRAON, above Fírúzpur. The Commander-in-Chief, having received a siege-train from Delhi and plenty of ammunition and supplies, drew up his forces in the form of a crescent along the Síkh front; and commenced the attack before day-break on February 10, 1846. For three hours there was a terrific cannonade on both sides; and then Sir Hugh Gough ordered the British troops to charge the entrenchments of the enemy. Tej Singh fled; but the aged Shám Singh, in white garments, devoted himself to death as a martyr for the Gúrú, and fell at length on a heap of his slain countrymen. Many thousands of Síkhs gallantly fell at their posts; and it was not till after two hours' fierce fighting at close quarters that the shattered remnants of the Khálsá army fled in helpless confusion across the Satlej, under the deadly fire of the British artillery.

§ 156. Three days later (February 13, 1846) the whole British army crossed the Satlej; and on February 14, Sir Henry Hardinge issued a proclamation, announcing the intentions of the British

Government, which were singularly moderate. An interview was accorded to Guláb Singh, the chosen representative of the Khálsá, and the leading Síkh chiefs, at Kasur; and ultimately the young Dhúlíp Singh personally made his submission, the citadel of Láhor was occupied by the British troops, and the country submitted on the terms imposed by the conquerors. These were;—(1) the annexation of the Jálandhar Doáb, between the Satlej and the Bías; (2) the establishment of Dhúlíp Singh as Mahárájá of Láhor, with a council of regency, and a British Resident "with full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State" during the minority of the Rájá; (3) the payment of the expenses of the war; (4) the maintenance of a British force at Láhor for the protection of the new Government. Sufficient treasure for the payment of all the war-expenses was not forthcoming, so Kashmír and Hazára were retained; and ultimately Kashmír was formed into an independent State under Guláb Singh of Jammu, who in return paid one million sterling towards this indemnity.

§ 157. These final arrangements were ratified by the Governor-General on the 26th of December 1846. As a reward for this successful war, the army received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. To the troops was ordered a donative of twelve months' *batta*. Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough were made peers, as Viscount Hardinge and Lord Gough respectively; and Sir H. Smith received a baronetcy.

§ 158. In consequence of a rebellion which broke out in 1846 against Guláb Singh in Kashmír, Lál Singh, who was implicated in it, was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Agra; and in 1847, Chánd Kaur herself, who was always intriguing, was sent as a prisoner to Shekhpura, about twenty-five miles from Láhor.

§ 159. After all these great and bloody wars, in which the armies of Sind, of Gwáliár, and of the Síkhs had been successively annihilated, India enjoyed peace for nearly two years; and Lord Hardinge was now able to apply himself to those humane efforts for the suppression of cruel customs, with which his name is honourably connected. The horrible crimes of thuggee, infanticide, *satí*, and human sacrifices were still prevalent in many parts of India. Of the last the most important were the *Meriah* sacrifices

in Gumsar, amongst the Khonds and other aboriginal tribes of Orissa, Gondwána, and the hills and forests of Central India. These were now suppressed, chiefly by the efforts of Captain Macpherson and Colonel Campbell.

§ 160. Free trade was at this time promoted by the abolition of *octroi* duties, that is of taxes paid for importing food and other merchandize into some of the large towns of India.

§ 161. The Engineering College at Rúrki, planned by the benovolent and active Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, Mr. Thomason, was much encouraged by Lord Hardinge, who also took much interest in the restoration and conservation of the Táj Mahál at Agra and other valuable remains of antiquity.

§ 162. Lord Hardinge left Calcutta early in 1848. During his short administration he had gained the affections of all classes; and his name will always be remembered with respect as that of a skilful and gallant soldier, and a no less able and beneficent politician.

PART XIV.—EARL OF DALHOUSIE. A.D. 1848—1856.

§ 163. Summary of Lord Dalhousie's Administration. § 164. Outbreak in the Panjáb. § 165. Assassination of Vans Agnew and Anderson. § 166. Edwardes. § 167. Plot at Láhor. § 168. Siege of Multan. § 169. Battle of Rámnagar. § 170. Storming of Multán. § 171. Battle of Chillianwallah. § 172. Battle of Gujarát. § 173. Annexation of the Panjáb. § 174. Its Settlement. § 175. Second Burmese War. § 176. Annexation of Nágpur. § 177. Renewal of the Company's Charter. § 178. Useful measures. § 179. Annexation of Oudh. § 180. Retirement of Lord Dalhousie.

§ 163. The Earl of Dalhousie was appointed to succeed Lord Hardinge as thirteenth Governor-General. He arrived in Calcutta early in 1848, and left in 1856. The most important events of his administration were connected with (1) the Second Síkh War; (2) the second Burmah War; (3) the annexation of Oudh; (4) the reversion of the States of Tanjor and Nágpur to the British; (5) considerable improvements in the material prosperity, especially aided by the introduction of railways and telegraphs.

§ 164. When Lord Dalhousie was appointed, it was with the hope that he would be able to secure peace for India, after the late terrible wars. But the turbulence of the Sikhs soon rendered

the maintenance of peace impossible. When the news of the outbreak in the Panjáb arrived in Calcutta, and Lord Dalhousie had determined that there must be another Síkh war, he made the following famous speech:—"I have wished for peace; I have longed for it; I have striven for it. But if the enemies of India desire war, war they shall have; and on my word, they shall have it with a vengeance."

§ 165. A Síkh named Múlráj was Governor of Multán in 1848: and in March of that year had expressed a wish to retire from the post. A Síkh Sardar of Láhor named Khán Singh was appointed his successor; and proceeded to Multán to be installed, accompanied by two English officers named Vans Agnew and Anderson. These two gentlemen were assassinated in Multán, in the most savage and barbarous manner; and Mulraj rewarded the murderers, immediately raised the flag of insurrection in Multán, and proceeded to make arrangements for defending the fort which was celebrated for its strength.

§ 166. The rebellion soon spread; but fortunately the Muhammadan Khán of the neighbouring State of Bháwalpur remained firm in his alliance with the British. Lieutenant Edwardes (afterwards Sir Herbert Edwardes) was at Liah in the neighbourhood of Multán, and was a young man of extraordinary energy and determination; with Colonel Cortlandt, who was in command of a small force at Dera Ismail Khán he raised a few troops consisting mainly of Pathána and Bilúchis, and attacked and routed the rebels at the two well-fought battles of Kineri and Saddosám, and finally forced Múlráj to shut himself up in the fortress of Multán. The heroic little band then proceeded to invest the fortress; but it was soon found that it was impossible adequately to carry on the siege with so few guns and such a small force.

§ 167. It was at first hoped and believed that the rising was only a local one; but it soon became general. A plot was discovered for the massacre of all the Europeans at Láhor, in which the Maháráni was found to be implicated; she was consequently sent as a prisoner to Benares.

§ 168. General Whish at length, on the 21st December 1848, effected a junction with Edwardes (now a Major), and commenced

the siege of Multán in earnest. He had under his orders about 15,000 British troops and 17,000 allies, with a powerful seige train. The capture, however, of the fort was delayed by the sudden desertion of one of the chief Síkh Sardárs, named Sher Singh; whose father also, Chatár Singh, about this time raised the flag of revolt in Hazárá.

§ 169. Lord Gough had assembled a British army at Firúzpúr; and he now moved on to oppose Sher Singh, Chatar Singh, and the numerous Síkh leaders who had flocked together to oppose the British power. He had marched past Láhor, crossing the Ráví, and was now encamped on the northern bank. The enemy were collected in force at Rámnagar, and it was determined to drive them across the Chenáb. This object was effected; and the skirmish at RAMNAGAR is famous for a gallant charge by the British cavalry in which Colonel Havelock and General Cureton were killed.

§ 170. On the 3rd of January 1849, after long and terrible fighting, General Whish stormed the town of Multán. Múltáj shut himself up in the citadel; but this, too, he was compelled to surrender on the 21st of January. The bodies of Vans Agnew and Anderson were disinterred; they were carried in a solemn funeral procession through the breach where the storming-party had entered, and thence to the highest point of the citadel, where they were buried with military honours. Major Edwardes was left in charge of Multán, and General Whish joined the Commander-in-Chief.

§ 171. Meanwhile, on the 12th and 13th of January, a bloody general action had been fought between Lord Gough and the Síkhs under Sher Singh, at CHILLIANWALLAH. The English troops, at about 3 P.M. after a tiring march, arrived on the ground, which was covered with jungle, and most unfavourable for the operations of a disciplined army. Lord Gough, finding himself nearer the enemy than he had anticipated, thought it necessary to order an immediate attack. The Síkhs were driven back, and lost forty guns; but the loss of the English was very heavy, and Lord Gough had to retire at night-fall to a more convenient camping-ground at the distance of a mile. This dearly-bought victory

was not much better than a defeat for the British; but subsequent events showed that their gallant enemies had suffered even more than themselves.

§ 172. Great sensation was caused both in India and in England by the indecisive and disastrous battle of Chillianwálláh. Lord Gough's rashness was everywhere blamed; and Sir Charles Napier, the hero of Sind, was sent from England at a few hours' notice, to supersede him as Commander-in-Chief. But long before the new general could arrive in India, and indeed before he started from England, the whole war was over. The decisive and almost bloodless victory of GUJARAT was fought on the 21st of February 1849. Gujarát is a small town between the rivers Chenáb and Jhelam, on the road from Vazírábád to Jhelam; and here the Sikhs had established themselves after the battle of Chillianwálláh, and had been joined by a powerful force of Afghán cavalry. The attack commenced on the 20th of February, the British artillery literally pounding the Sikh lines. By the evening of the 21st, the whole Sikh army had been broken up; fifty-six guns and all their ammunition, baggage, and stores were captured. The fugitives were followed by General Gilbert; and on the 8th of March, Sher Singh surrendered himself. At Hurmak, at Ráwál Pindí, and elsewhere, the remains of the Sikh army, to the number of 16,000, surrendered their arms; and on the 17th of March, General Gilbert had the satisfaction of chasing Dost Muhammad's Afgháns across the Indus and as far as the entrance to the Khaibar pass.

§ 173. The annexation of the Panjáb followed. On the 28th March 1849, the Maháráj Dhulíp Singh signed a treaty in full Darbár, by which he resigned the sovereignty to the British, receiving in return a handsome pension. He has since lived a quiet and useful life in England, as an English landowner. Múlráj was tried for the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson, and condemned to death; his sentence, however, was commuted to transportation for life.

§ 174. The Panjáb was made a "non-regulation" province of the British Empire, and placed under a Board of Commissioners; of whom Sir Henry Lawrence was the president, and Mr. John Lawrence (since Lord Lawrence, and Governor-General of India)

was second. The people of the province were ordered to give up their arms, and a great diminution of crime was the result. Lord Dalhousie was made Marquis of Dalhousie.

§ 175. The second Burmese war broke out early in 1852; and was caused by the arrogance of the Government of Ava, and by some outrages committed on British subjects by his officials. Commodore Lambert at the head of a fleet, and General Godwin with a small army, were sent across the Bay of Bengal; and the result was the annexation of the fine province of Pegu, being the whole of the maritime districts of the kingdom of Ava. Pegu was added to the provinces ceded in 1826; and now forms a part of the flourishing Chief-Commissionership of British Burmah. Pegu was annexed, December 21st, 1852; and the war concluded, June 30th, 1853.

§ 176. The Mahratta Rájá of Nágpur died without issue in December 1853. He had refused to adopt a son [*see* Chap. V., § 117]; so Lord Dalhousie declared that his territory had lapsed to the Paramount Power, and accordingly annexed it. The "annexation" policy which was the characteristic of Lord Dalhousie's administration, though not originated by him, has been the subject of much angry discussion.

§ 177. The Parliament in England was occupied during several months of 1853 in the consideration of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter. The Charter was renewed for the last time, under the following conditions:—The Court of Directors was reduced from thirty to eighteen, of whom six were to be appointed by the Crown; appointments in the Civil Service were thrown open to competition; the Macaulay Code was introduced; Bengal was put under a Lieutenant-Governor; and the Company's Sadar Courts were amalgamated with Her Majesty's Supreme Courts at the Presidency towns.

§ 178. A wonderful degree of material, social and political progress marks the administration of Lord Dalhousie. The first Indian railway was opened in 1853; and railways and telegraphs begun rapidly to spread over the whole country. Vast schemes of education were set on foot; Universities were ordered to be founded, and the Presidency College in Calcutta was established

in 1855. In the same year, a treaty was made with Dost Muhammad, who had been restored to the throne of Kábul; gigantic schemes of Public Works were planned, and large sums of money borrowed for them; and the crime of extracting evidence by torture was stringently put down.

§ 179. In 1856, the great and populous kingdom of Oudh was annexed to the British dominions. By the treaty of 1801, it had been placed under the protection of the British, and the king had been guaranteed security as long as he ruled well and peaceably. But the Government had gone from bad to worse; and the anarchy and oppression in Oudh had been such as to endanger the peace of the surrounding British districts. The sufferings of the people themselves were terrible; and the British guarantee prevented their rising in insurrection with any prospect of success. Every dictate of humanity and prudence was in favour of annexation; Lord Dalhousie advised it, with the unanimous consent of his Council. The Home Government ordered that the province should be annexed; and the ex-king was transferred to Calcutta with a pension.

§ 180. Lord Dalhousie left Calcutta on the 6th of March, 1856. His administration had been a singularly vigorous and brilliant one, and had lasted eight years. His health was utterly broken down by his labours and his anxieties; but his fame will always endure, as one of the greatest of the Governors-General of British India.

PART XV.—LORD CANNING. A.D. 1856—1861.

§ 181. Summary of Lord Canning's Administration. § 182. The Persian War. § 183. Expedition to China. § 184. Causes of the Sepoy Mutiny. § 185. The Fomenters of Treason. § 186. First symptoms of Mutiny. § 187. The Massacres at Mírat and Delhi. § 188. An act of heroism. § 189. Spread of the Mutiny. § 190. The Panjáb saved. § 191. Loyalty of Native Princes. § 192. The Cawnpore Massacre. § 193. Advance of Havelock and Neill. § 194. The Siege and Relief of Lucknow. § 195. The defence of Arrah. § 196. The siege and storming of Delhi. § 197. Punishment of Rebels. § 198. Final relief of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell. § 199. Sir Hugh Rose's March. § 200. Confiscation of the lands of Oudh

§ 201. Transfer of the Government from the Company to the Queen. § 202. The Sanads of the Feudatory Princes. § 203. The Royal Proclamation.

§ 181. Lord Canning was appointed to succeed Lord Dalhousie as fourteenth Governor-General; and arrived in Calcutta on the 29th of February, 1856. By far the most important events of his administration were connected with the "Sepoy Mutiny," which broke out in 1857, and which resulted in the assumption of the direct Government of India by the Crown of England. But we shall also have to notice (1) the Persian War of 1856, and (2) the war with China.

§ 182. The Persian war was caused by the insolence of the Persians, who still resented the opposition they had met with from the English in their attempt on Herát in 1837 [*see* § 115]. An expedition was sent under Sir James Outram, the gallant "Bayard" of India. On the 5th of February 1857, he drove the Persians from their entrenchments at Barasjún, about 46 miles from Bushair; and in a pitched battle on the 7th February, he nearly annihilated the Persian army. After the capture, on the 26th, of Muhamrah, a place commanding the approach to Ispahán, the capital of Persia, the Persians prayed for a truce; and at length, on March 4th, 1857, a treaty was signed in Paris, by which the Persians agreed to make full atonement for all the insults offered to British subjects, and to give up all claims on Herát and Afghánistán.

§ 183. Some affronts had been offered to the English in China, and about this time an expedition under Lord Elgin was sent thither; which is mainly important for us to notice because of the opportune aid which Lord Elgin was thus able to give to the authorities in Calcutta, by detaching a part of his troops to aid in putting down the sepoy revolt. It is needless to say that the English troops were everywhere successful in China; Yeh, the Governor of Canton, who had instigated the attacks on the English, was taken as a prisoner to Calcutta, where he subsequently died; and the Emperor of China made a treaty by which he agreed to concede all commercial privileges to the Chief European nations.

§ 184. The events of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58 are still so recent, that we need not attempt to give more than a very brief outline of them. Disaffection had long been rife amongst the sepoys of the Bengal army. In 1856, a reform, that of enlisting all soldiers for general instead of local service, was very unpopular amongst them; the recent annexations had created a distrust of the intentions of the British; and above all, absurd reports had been spread abroad that the Government wished to destroy the religions of both Hindús and Musalmáns, and to force all to become Christians.

§ 185. These ridiculous rumours were purposely circulated, through fakírs and by other means, by those who hoped to gain by the anarchy which would follow on the subversion of the British power. The old king of Delhi and his sons nourished a foolish hope that they might restore the old glories of the Mughul dynasty; the dispossessed Mahratta princes of Nágpur and Sátára, and doubtless many other disappointed chiefs, were in the secret. But probably the most active incendiaries were the miscreant Dhúndú Pant (called the Náná Saheb), the adopted son of the last Peshwá, and his secretary Azím-ullah, who were afterwards infamous as the authors of the massacre of Cawnpore.

§ 186. Early in 1857, the new Enfield rifles were introduced into the Indian army; and the disaffected immediately spread abroad an absurd report that the cartridges issued had been greased with the fat of pigs and cows to defile both the Musalmáns and the Hindús. The first open acts of mutiny occurred at Barhampur, in the 19th Regiment, which was subsequently disbanded; and then similar symptoms appeared at Barrackpur.

§ 187. The mutiny broke out in all its horrors at Mírat on the 10th May 1857. Some troopers had refused to use the suspected cartridges, and were put into prison. To rescue them the native regiments mutinied; and being joined by the rabble from the bazárs, they murdered every European whom they could find, men, women, and children; they plundered and burnt the station, and then marched off to Delhi. A considerable European force in the cantonments, which might have opposed them, remained inactive owing to the imbecility of the aged and incapable General who was

in command. Encouraged by this monstrous folly, the sepoys enacted the same horrible scenes on the next day (May 11) at Delhi.

§ 188. An act of heroism that occurred in connexion with the Delhi massacre, will always be particularly mentioned whenever the History of India is recited. When the tidings of the Mírat massacre reached Delhi, nine officers, commissioned, and non-commissioned, managed to close the gates of the arsenal, the greatest in the north-west of India. They then made some hasty preparations for defence, and laid a train of powder from the magazine to some distance. Alone, those heroes defended their post till swarms of assailants were by means of scaling ladders surmounting the walls. Then the train was fired, and the little band made their way through a sally-port on the river face, covered with wounds. They were Lieutenants Willoughby, Raynor, and Forest; Conductors Shaw, Buckley, and Scully; Sub-Conductor Crow; Sergeants Edwards and Stewart. Scully fired the train, and was seen no more. Willoughby, their young leader, scorched and crippled, died of his wounds at Mírat. Many Europeans and Eurasians escaped from the city; but only to endure unheard-of sufferings. The accounts of this memorable period are full of the most wonderful stories of heroic endurance and fortitude.

§ 189. As soon as the news spread that rebel troops had occupied the fortress of Delhi, the capital of the Mughuls, the sepoys were emboldened everywhere throughout Bengal and the North-West, to rise in insurrection; and unhappily in nearly every station they signalised their treachery and treason by the most atrocious murders and massacres.

§ 190. The Panjáb was saved by the promptitude and determination of the noble band of statesmen and soldiers who were in charge of that province under Sir John Lawrence. At Láhor, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. McLeod, and General Corbett, disarmed the sepoys who showed signs of treason; and Reid, Cotton, Chamberlain, Nicholson, and Edwardes did the same at Peshâwar. One regiment of cavalry that mutinied at Alí Mardán, met with immediate and awful punishment.

§ 191. The Síkh chiefs behaved nobly; they armed their retainers, and put them at the disposal of Sir John Lawrence, who

was thus enabled not only to protect the Panjáb and Cis-Satlej stations, but also to send down large reinforcements to Delhi where they were much needed. The Mahárájás of Kashmir, Kaparthala, Patiála, and Jhind; and the Sardárs Tej Singh, Shamsher Singh, Janáhir Singh and many others, thus signalised their fidelity to their engagements with the Paramount Power.

§ 192. The black treachery and barbarity of the Cawnpore massacre has probably never been surpassed in history. The little garrison of Europeans under General Sir Hugh Wheeler, Captain Moore, and many other gallant men bravely defended themselves for three weeks, from June 6th to June 27th, against a vast host of savage enemies commanded by the Náná Saheb, Tantia Topi, Azimullah, and their friends. The besiegers were plentifully supplied with guns, ammunition, and stores of all kinds; whilst the handful of Englishmen suffered from every privation, and were defending miserable buildings which afforded them no protection. At length, under a solemn promise from Dhúndú Pant (the Náná Saheb) and his accomplice Azímullah that they should be safely conveyed with their women and children to Allahábád, the little band surrendered; and were marched down to the boats. Suddenly, at a signal believed to have been given by Dhúndú Pant, the sepoys opened fire on the unarmed prisoners; numbers were shot in the boats; and the rest, women and children, were subsequently cut to pieces in a small room, and their mangled bodies cast into a well. Of the whole garrison, only four succeeded in forcing their way, by sheer valour and physical endurance, through the savage host.

§ 193. Retribution for this atrocious crime was happily not long delayed. Two of the heroes of this war, General Havelock and Colonel Neill, were pressing on to the scene of action. Havelock reached Allahábád on June 30th; and on the 16th of July the battle of CAWNPORE was fought, in which the murderers under Dhúndú Pant were completely routed. Havelock mached on into Oudh to relieve Lucknow, whilst Neill remained in command at Cawnpore to inflict on the butchers of women and children the awful punishment they deserved.

§ 194. Benares, in the midst of the greatest danger, had been preserved by the skill and judgment of Mr. Tucker and Mr. Gubbins, and a few others, European and Native. But during all this time a struggle, perhaps the most glorious of the whole war, had been going on at LUCKNOW; where the Residency was defended by Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the best, most generous, and most heroic men that India has ever known. He was aided by Banks, Inglis, Fulton, and many other names of note. On the 2nd of July, he was killed by the bursting of a shell; but the defence was still maintained with the utmost gallantry. At length Havelock, after having thrice crossed the Ganges, and after having gained innumerable victories, forced his way through the besieging force, and got into Lucknow on the 25th of September. The chivalrous Sir James Outram had been sent to take command of the relieving army; but he generously refused to supersede Havelock until the city had been relieved, and thus the latter had the pleasure of himself accomplishing that for which he had dared and endured so much. The triumph was saddened by the loss of the brave Neill who fell in the last advance.

§ 195. The defence of Arrah was an episode of this period of the war which, though of less historical importance, is equally interesting as an instance of heroic fortitude under appalling difficulties. A small open bungalow was held here, by Mr. Wake, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Colvin, and a few more Englishmen and Sikhs, for a whole week against more than 3,000 rebel sepoys who had mutinied in the neighbouring cantonments of Dinapur. The first attempt at a rescue was beaten back by overpowering numbers; and in the retreat, the boats which carried the hoped-for reinforcements were only saved from destruction by the courage of a young Bengal civilian named McDonell, who gallantly cut the ropes that bound them, in the midst of a tremendous fire of musketry. At length this portion of the rebel host was cut up by Major Vincent Eyre in the brilliant victory of Bibiganj; and this officer soon succeeded in totally dispersing them.

§ 196. Five days before the relief of Lucknow, Delhi, the stronghold of the mutineers, and the place whose very name was strength to them in the opinion of the natives of the country,

had fallen. This siege was really the central scene of the war; but it is impossible here to follow it in detail. The fortress was immensely strong, about seven miles in circumference, defended by countless hosts of sepoys, and furnished with inexhaustible supplies of guns, ammunition, and stores. By means of the strongly fortified bridge over the Jamnah, reinforcements of mutinous regiments and plentiful supplies were continually poured into the city. The siege nominally commenced on the 8th of June, when Sir H. Barnard, after a severely contested battle, seized the ridge near Delhi; but it was not till the 7th of September that the besiegers were strong enough to commence operations in earnest. Sir H. Barnard had died of cholera on the 4th of July; and had been succeeded by General Archdale Wilson, who had with him Baird Smith as chief of engineers, with Nicholson, Hope Grant, and many other distinguished soldiers. The fortifications were stormed on the 14th September; and after incessant house-to-house fighting for six days, the whole city was captured on the 20th. This was before a single soldier, of the many thousands who were hastening from England to uphold the British supremacy, had set foot on the shores of India.

§ 197. The old king of Delhi was captured at Humáyún's tomb, by Major Hodson of the Guides and of "Hodson's Horse;" and his two sons and grandson, who had personally assisted in the massacres and rebellion, were shot by the same resolute officer, to prevent their being rescued. Muhammad Bahádur, the old king, was subsequently brought to trial. He was skilfully defended, and the trial lasted from January 27th to March 9th; but he was found guilty of murder, treason, and arson, and sentenced to be transported for life to British Burmah. He ultimately died unpitied at Rangoon.

§ 198. The strength of the rebellion was really broken by the capture of Delhi; and henceforward the task of the British troops was the arduous, but comparatively simple one, of following up the various divisions of the mutinous armies, wresting from them their strongholds, and inflicting their well-deserved punishments on traitors and murderers. Lucknow was finally relieved and its garrison rescued by Sir Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clyde. Sir Her

Havelock died on the 25th November, deeply regretted by all as one of the bravest and most high-minded soldiers that ever lived. It was not till the following March, 1858, that the province of Oudh with its capital was fully subdued.

§ 199. The Gwáliár contingent had mutinied in October 1857, and had dethroned their loyal Rájá, the young Sindia. But their time was short. Early in 1858, Sir Hugh Rose made his famous march, almost unparalleled in history, from Bombay through Central India to Gwáliár. His most formidable opponent was Tantia Topi. On the 25th of May he stormed Kalpí, the chief arsenal that remained in the power of the rebels. The Ráni of Jhánsi, a brave but misguided woman, defended her strong fortress of Jhánsi; but it was taken by Sir Hugh Rose, and the Ráni (who escaped) was afterwards killed at the siege of Gwáliár. Gwáliár was taken, and Sindia restored in June 1858. Tantia Topi had been captured by Colonel Meade in April; and he was tried and hanged, for his share in the Cawnpore massacre.

§ 200. Now came the important political changes that had been indicated as necessary, during the great struggle of the sepoy revolt. As a measure preliminary to a further settlement of the unquiet province of Oudh, Lord Canning, by a proclamation of July 1858, declared all the land of that country forfeited, except that of six loyal zamíndárs.

§ 201. The Government of the East India Company was abolished, and British India was placed under the direct control of the Crown, by an Act of Parliament which received the royal assent on the 2nd of August 1858. It was ordered that the administration in England should be wielded by a Secretary of State for India, aided by a Council of fifteen members, of whom eight must have served in India for ten years at least. Many other most important political changes were also made at this time; of which one of the chief was the abolition of the local European army.

§ 202. In consequence of this transfer of the Government to the Crown, Lord Canning became the first VICEROY of British India. One of his last public acts was the bestowal of *Sanads* on the loyal Feudatory Princes of India; by which they were

constituted feudal nobles of the British Empire, and were guaranteed the peaceable enjoyment of their dominions, and all their rights and privileges, including the much-prized right of adoption in case of failure of male heirs—always provided that they faithfully fulfilled all their treaty obligations to the Paramount Power, and maintained their loyalty to their gracious Sovereign.

§ 203. The proclamation of Her Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India, was translated into all the vernacular languages of India; and it was read aloud in every station in India on the 1st of November 1858. The words by which Her Majesty took the millions of India under Her gracious protection, and promised to govern them according to those beneficent maxims which have always distinguished British rule, doubtless did much to re-assure the minds of the people, and to convince them that the intentions of their English rulers were as just and benevolent, as their military strength had recently been proved to be irresistible. With the closing words of that proclamation we will close this history :—"When by the blessing of Providence the internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is Our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its Government for the benefit of all Our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be Our strength; in their contentment Our security; and in their gratitude Our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to Us and to those in authority under Us, strength to carry out these Our wishes for the good of Our people."

N. E. Sethna

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